Daily Report

East Europe

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Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces Council Meets

Kulikov, Gribkov Arrive

AU1005113588 Sofia BTA in English
1118 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor G. Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Member States, arrived here today to attend a session of the Military Council of the Warsaw Treaty Member States' Joint Armed Forces which is opening in Sofia tomorrow. Army General Anatoliy I. Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces, arrived together with Marshal Kulikov.

More on Meeting

LD1105072488 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 0500 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Bulgaria—A session of the Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states will begin today in Sofia. Taking part together with representatives of the friendly armies will be Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces and General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff.

CEMA Experts, Scientists Discuss Environment

AU1005165688 Sofia BTA in English
1533 GMT 10 May 88

[Excerpt] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—The 12th session of the Council on Environment Problems Information Provision with CEMA started in the city of Varna today. The session of the council is attended by representatives of CEMA's Secretariat and of UN Programme on Environment Conservation. The experts will outline their future activity, taking into account the different innovations in their sphere.

Sofia hosts the third meeting of the Permanent Coordination Committee for Reducing Seismic Risk in the Balkans. It is attended by specialists from all member states, as well as from UNESCO and from the UN Development Programme. The aim of the meeting is to update the project of the committee and to plan its activity during the next few years. The committee coordinates the cooperation in seismology and anti-seismic construction.

A national symposium "Philosophy, Physics, Cosmos" started in the city of Kurdzhali. Integration between the sciences is one of the chief topics which will be discussed by Bulgarian scientists and their colleagues from the USSR, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Poland. [passage omitted]

CSSR Envoy Addresses Disarmament Commission
LD030850 Prague CTK in English
0815 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] New York May 3 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Delegate to the United Nations Evzen Zapotocky called here yesterday for additional confidence-building measures to support concrete disarmament talks.

Speaking on the first day of the regular session of the UN Disarmament Commission, the Czechoslovak delegate recalled the recent Czechoslovak proposal to create a zone of confidence and good-neighbourly relations on the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states stressing that it is in line with this demand.

He underlined the significance of the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty Eliminating Intermediate-Range Missiles which is an impulse for further talks, particularly for the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow.

Dealing with the situation in Europe, Evzen Zapotocky laid stress on the appeal to the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe approved by the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers at their session in Sofia in March. The document covers all aspects of disarmament and security in Europe and the world he said, and voiced the conviction that the UN Disarmament Commission will succeed in reaching agreement on the discussed issues and submitting concrete results to the 3rd special session of the UN General Assembly opening here May 31.

During its current session, the UN Disarmament Commission is to discuss and work out a comprehensive document on the removal of the threat of nuclear war, centering on questions of arms limitation control and disarmament, principles and means of strengthening confidence, and stands of individual countries and groups of states on arms budget cuts.

Hungarian Addresses CSCE Follow-Up Session
LD0305143188 Budapest MTI in English
1340 GMT 3 May 88

["Vienna contribution by Andre Erdos"—MTI headline]

[Text] Vienna, May 3 (MTI)—The Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation could not yet produce concrete results in drafting the closing document, said Ambassador Andre Erdos, head of the Hungarian delegation, at the plenary session Tuesday. He welcomed the completion of the non-official working document and pointed out that its proposals and concepts will certainly be reflected in the draft closing document to be drawn up shortly by the neutral and non-aligned countries.

The Hungarian ambassador stated that these proposals have to mark out new ways and means for the propagion of each other's cultural values and facilitate the strengthening of a common european cultural consciousness, while preserving the original and diverse character of the national cultures. Attention should be paid to the fact that the different technological levels of the particular countries and the sphere of influence of the individual cultures may also have an effect on the possibilities to propagate the cultural values. Support should be given to international cooperation aimed at safeguarding cultural values, including folk art traditions, he said.

The ambassador considered it important to give a suitable place to the experience of the Budapest cultural forum in the closing document, and expressed the conviction that the Krakow symposium on cultural heritage will contribute to dialogue and joint action in Europe.

Andre Erdos pointed out the importance of laying emphasis on the search for joint terms and compromises in the present phase of the Vienna meeting. In this context, he referred to the latest Western concepts on the human-legal mechanism, which fail to reflect this recognition and go beyond possibility and rationality. He expressed the hope that the neutral and non-aligned countries will fulfil their traditional role in the European conference with responsibility and a sense for reality, because this is how they can ensure that their draft closing document effectively broadens the prospects of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in Europe.

CSCE Parliamentarians To Meet in Sofia
AU1105082688 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
0500 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] The Bulgarian Interparliamentary Group has extended invitations to the parliaments of the CSCE participant countries to hold a meeting in Sofia from 31 May through 2 June 1988.

Invitations to participate were also extended to some organs of the European communities.

No official document will be adopted at this conference of parliamentarians devoted to peace and security, but the more important thing in this case is that the dialogue will contribute to the efforts of politicians and of their peoples to establish and consolidate peace and security on our continent.

Throughout 3 days, a wide and open discussion will take place at the National Assembly Hall in Sofia on the problems of building zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons in various parts of Europe. As the experience of existing nuclear-free zones in Latin America and in the

southern part of the Pacific shows, the role of parliamentarians is particularly important in connection with such important steps, which are aimed at a nuclear-free world. As the continent with the highest concentration of armed forces and armaments, including nuclear arms, Europe should persist in seeking methods and means of alleviating the nuclear danger.

In this connection the European parliamentarians' meeting in Sofia will represent another step forward, which the Bulgarian public will await with interest and hope, in the spirit of the traditional peace-loving foreign policy conducted by our country—a policy aimed at peace, security, and mutually advantageous cooperation in the Balkans, Europe, and the world.

AWP Paper on Efficiency of Engineering Industry

AU1105084288 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 May 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Call for Qualitative Steps in the Production, Organization, and Efficiency of the Engineering Industry"]

[Excerpts] Communists, the workers class, cadres and specialists of the engineering industry, in endeavoring to act upon the directives of the Ninth AWP Congress and the party's continual instructions, are supporting the nation's progress with ever-increasing energy.

However, as was stressed in the AWP Central Committee Politburo's recent analysis of this problem, the industry, despite all its achievements, is still not meeting the increased demands for quantity, and especially quality, which the sustained development of production and services places before it. This is particularly true of the production of the good-quality spare parts which, alongside the maintenance of the basic equipment, is the industry's principal task. Carrying out this task is a decisive factor for the normal functioning of production as a whole, but is also a necessary precondition for the renewal of the engineering industry itself, and the replacement and expansion of new production equipment. Party bodies and organizations, on the basis of a profound analysis of the situation regarding the adequate supply of spare parts of the proper quality, including small ones produced from industrial waste, must lay down and implement the necessary measures for a qualitative improvement of effective labor in production and organization. [passage omitted]

In better exploiting the existing productive capacity, the production of spare parts for tractors and mining equipment must be increased, and the production of new spare parts must be intensified, in order to properly match the changes in the range of machinery at present in use. As well as this, the need for spare parts can be very effectively met by repairing them. It is wrong that the capacities of repair shops are not fully exploited.

The largest reserve for meeting the need for spare parts is a universal improvement in their quality, the Politburo meeting emphasized. This problem has been considered, discussed, and tackled often. But in fulfilling the tasks set before us, more vigor and consistency is necessary. Last year, enterprises under the Ministry of Transport sent back 42,000 spare parts of 108 different kinds because of poor quality. Who is responsible for the underuse of motor vehicles and tractors, the wages of drivers and mechanics, and the work that is left undone because of the poor quality of spare parts and repairs? On the same subject, the struggle for improved quality should be an urgent issue for Communists and working people in this sector, who should insist that every spare part, and complex of spare parts, should be produced, repaired, and inspected with a high sense of responsibility and awareness so that it will render service to its user for a guaranteed and specific period of time. All engineering factories and workshops, under the leadership of party organizations, should stimulate and intensify their work in production and repair.

The meeting also set the task of further intensifying planning. The technical departments of factories have a particular responsibility here. They must improve their work, not by multiplying deskworkers, but by involving production specialists and trained workers in planning. In this context, the work of the two engineering institutes has a special place in constructive technical planning, as does the Steel of the Party Combine in improving the quality of different types of steel. [passage omitted]

The problems of specialization and concentrated production must be correctly understood and studied from the planning stage, combating tendencies for enterprises to produce everything themselves, in other words, to carry out the entire production cycle within the enterprise. The fact that, for instance, the specialized factory at Kavaje produces nuts and bolts, but that many other factories and workshops throughout the country do so as well, deserves criticism. Specialized factories should not involve themselves in minutiae. We have many examples to show that small workshops have achieved great things. [passage omitted]

Politburo's Cami Views Tirana University Work

AU0905183788 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 4 Apr 88 p 14-28

[Speech by Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, to the Academic Council of the Enver Hoxha University, Tirana, on 12 March: "The Academic Work of the University Should Respond Better to the Needs of the Nation's Economic and Cultural Development"]

[Excerpts] Tirana University is one of the largest scientific and research institutes in the country. Drawing the balance of last year's work in scientific research and study, we note that achievement is a fundamental characteristic of this university, and that this is a positive and encouraging indication for further successes, for raising academic standards, and further accelerating the development of our Albanian academic life. [passage omitted]

The party has always demanded and stressed the university's obligation to deepen its cooperation with the broad sphere of production and with life. We have achieved some results in this field, but are still far from what is required, because the university has not been involved in this process in a comprehensive and effective way. The tasks we face demand that the value of every completed study project should be assessed by the benefit it brings to increasing production, boosting productivity, and solving every aspect of the problems that life produces. With this in mind, we cannot tolerate the low effectiveness of many completed study projects, their

insufficient influence upon the various problems preoccupying the country's economy, and the unsatisfactory and too general nature of some studies in the social sciences, with their lack of creative thinking and originality.

It is claimed that studies have been carried out to discover and exploit chrome resources, but it remains a fact that targets in chrome extraction—especially of rich chrome—are not being met according to the plan. Shortfalls also arose durung the first 3 months of this hear, which encumber the balance of export-import payments. The same picture can be seen in studies in oil and gas. In this sector as well, the expected results in increased production from existing sources and in discovering new oil- and gas-bearing sources have not been achieved. So what has been the use of the studies that have been carried out? It is claimed that the relevant faculty has carried out various study projects in the economy. But we are not told what benefits they have brought, what changes they have inaugurated, or what concrete profit the economy has had from them. Similarly, the Political and Legal Science Faculty's project entitled "On Refining the Socalist Superstructure in the Process of the Total Construction of a Socialist Society" is often mentioned as being valuable. But what came out of it? What recommendations has it made, and what suggestions has it put forward for refining the superstructure? Nobody says anything about these things. Let us take another example, the "Study of Albanian Fauna." People say that this study has dealt with the species and subspecies of predatory rodents in Korce, their mode of existence, age structure, distribution, and so forth. But nobody has told us what the conclusion of this project is, what specific results it yielded, or what practical suggestions it put forward for solving the problem that was under consideration.

Strengthening the university's ties with production is not, of course, an easy process that advances without difficulties. The specific character of university work should not however be and obstacle to this process and still less should "complaints" about other people. If ministries, their institutions, and production enterprises do not approach the university often, do not offer it problems for solution or fields of cooperation, and do not properly appreciate and implement the results of the university's academic work, the reason must be found inside, not outside the university. It must not be taken as an excuse, but seen as a criticism of the work done in higher education. The university and colleges cannot and must not merely sit back until other people knock on the door to seek help or suggest areas of cooperation. Nor must they "moan" when the administration, for various reasons, delays or hesitates, or fails to offer material support. The university itself must be more persistent and militant, especially in following through completed study projects, and in introducing new scientific information and advanced methods, surmounting every difficulty and obstacle. [passage omitted]

At the basis of all academic activity are the people who must carry it out, and in the university these are the teaching and academic staff. But how do they carry out their profession? In practice, the situation is not good. The most important symptoms are those that the party has criticized before: the diminution or cessation of all academic or research activity after the award of a degree or title, and prolonged vegetation in research topics that are outmoded or lacking in general interest.

There exist candidates of science who, after genuinely intensive work and after gaining their titles, do not aspire to further progress through academic work which would lead to a doctorate. It cannot be claimed that they carry out no academic work at all. They take part in seminars, perform occasional demonstrations, or write an occasional textbook. But this is very little in relation to the demands the party makes of teaching and working people in the university and colleges. There are also qualified cadres who abandon all kinds of scientific research and purely teach, sometimes giving the same course with the same syllabus for years. It must be stated that a qualified cadre who does not involve himself in academic and research work sets a poor example. Moreover, science is continually evolving, and a course that undergoes no revision loses its value very quickly. Any cadre, however qualified, who does not deepen his knowledge and follow currents of scientific development falls behind the times and fails to meet the demands of the age. It is similarly noticeable that the habit of meager academic output among teaching staff has still not been completely eradicated, and, what is worse, this state of things is sometimes taken for granted.

Many of the weaknesses we have today in cadre training in colleges, and which we criticize as "rote learning" or "uncreative teaching," alongside reluctance to find new teaching and disciplinary methods, are closely allied to the fact that, in some cases, teaching and academic staff become teachers pure and simple, transmitting knowledge and facts acquired from books, and conveying to their audience a fixed form of culture which lacks the imprint of personal research and academic work.

Various arguments are often brought forward to explain this situation, such as growing pains, fast quantitative growth, different levels of qualification, the large amount of routine and non-academic work that working people in the university have to deal with, the heavy teaching load, and so forth. [passage omitted]

When we discuss how to encourage and appraise academic work and the people who carry it out, we cannot fail to mention that the principle of debate and deep scientific criticism is a powerful tool in shaking off sloth and complacency, combating weaknesses and shortcomings, and in exhibiting true scientific standards and preventing them from becoming egalitarian and uniform. Despite continual warnings and some partial improvements here and there, we still have not gone as far as we must. In university departments, there are still

subjective appraisals of dissertations and academic activity carried out by the department's own members; the editorial boards of periodicals have exaggerated opinions of articles; the editorial boards of publishing houses hear readers' reports which do not state an opinion, but merely "list" the contents of a book, or give emotionally tinged verdicts, full of fancy phrases and displays of aesthetic sensibility, alongside reports that are little short of complacent, without a single word about shortcomings.

The reason for this situation is more or less well known. It arises out of a uniformity in study projects, their failure to tackle contentious issues, and simplified approaches. Family ties have their influence, as well as a petite bourgeois idea of not upsetting a colleague in order not to damage a friendship.

It is our task to pave the way for the development of academic criticism, debate, and a healthy climate for discussion and the clash of opinions. It is not the task of science to keep people happy, whoever they may be, but to state the truth. This is the only way it can make progress. The bodies concerned, and managing organizations, must not accept appraisals of this kind, but must critically examine what has been achieved and assesses the work that has been done. [passage omitted]

The publishing activity of the university, as an aspect of its overall work, has improved in quality from year to year and has expanded its range of titles.

But, apart from such achievements, a main task is to eliminate those shortcomings that have been pointed out, especially in overcoming backwardness in revising textbooks to suit new syllabi and study programs, and in translations. It is not right that almost half the textbooks used by students date back to before 1980, while syllabi were laid down in 1983. It is similarly not right that translations are only very slowly being produced, and that there have been marked delays. There have been, and will continue to be, difficulties in meeting publishing plans. Everybody must increase his efforts to overcome this, starting from a realistic plan with a better selection of titles, and involving the compilation of high-quality textbooks, without padding and up to the demands of the times, punctually submitted by authors and university departments, with greater care for their publication shown by the Ministry Education and the Committee for Culture and the Arts. The creation of a University Textbook Publishing House will help to improve this situation. In particular, the publishing house, as the fifth AWP Central Committee instructed, will carry a major responsibility for the quality of the books it will publish and distribute. [passage omitted]

Health Minister Kamberi Returns From Geneva
AU0905184888 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 9 May 88

[Text] The delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by Minister of Health Ahmet Kamberi, which took part in the 41st WHO Assembly in Geneva, returned home today.

Alia Congratulates Mitterrand On Reelection
AU1005184188 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following message of congratulations to Francois Mitterand, President of the Republic of France:

On the occasion of your reelection to the high position of President of the French Republic, it is my pleasure to convey to you greetings and my warmest wishes. I avail myself of this opportunity to express my belief that the friendly relations between Albania and France, to which you have devoted particular attention, will continue to develop for the benefit of both countries.

XINHUA: Todorov's Wife Expelled From Party

OW1005200688 Beijing XINHUA in English 0613 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Sofia, May 9 (XINHUA)—The wife of the chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly has been expelled from the Bulgarian Communist Party for taking what the government called "radical action" in coping with environmental pollution caused by a neighboring Romanian city.

According to reliable sources, Sonia Todorowa, wife of Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov and editor in chief of the magazine TODAY'S WOMEN, joined with some influential Bulgarian intellectuals to form a committee for environmental protection of the Bulgarian city of Ruse without permission.

Ruse is across the Danube River from the Romanian city of Giurgiu, where a chemical factory has seriously polluted the Bulgarian city's environment.

Air pollution from Giurgiu has enraged Ruse's citizens, who urged the Bulgarian Government to act to protect their city's environment.

Todorowa and her 100-plus member committee took what the government called "radical actions and public activities" which the Bulgarian Government said have negatively impacted relations between the two countries.

After the incidents, the Bulgarian Communist Party Politburo agreed to widen environmental protection and set up a Ministry of Soil, Forest and Natural Environmental Protection.

Nikolai Djulgerov, chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for Environmental Protection, announced today that May has been designated environmental protection month in Bulgaria.

Kubadinski Talks With Wang Renzhong in Beijing

AU1105132088 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 10 May 88 p 3

[Dispatch by BTA Beijing correspondent Evgeniy Donchev "specially for OTECHESTVEN FRONT": "Useful and Constructive Talks"]

[Text] Official talks continued in Beijing between the Bulgarian delegation led by Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, and leaders of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), led by Wang Renzhong, deputy chairman of the CPPCC.

There was a broad exchange of information on the historical development, structure, and activities of the two mass organizations, formed during the years of the revolutionary struggles of the Bulgarian people and directly prior to the founding of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese side pointed out that the CPPCC, as a united front organization, includes representatives of the Communist Party of China, other parties, mass organizations, and nonparty people. The CPPCC is guided in its activity by the line of the CPC, while the functions of its Council and National Committee are consultative, being expressed in investigations and making proposals to the CPC and the Chinese Government on the most important issues in the building of socialism. The striving toward greater democracy and wide openness in discussion was vividly demonstrated during the first session of the Seventh National Committee of the CPPCC, held 1 month ago.

This will be a lasting trend in our activity, Wang Renzhong pointed out, and it forms part of our program for political reform, which is mainly aimed at perfecting socialist democracy and control.

Comrade Pencho Kubadinski described in detail the tasks of restructuring that are now being resolved by the Fatherland Front, which represents the interests of the whole of Bulgarian society. He briefed the leaders of the CPPCC National Committee on the structure of the organization—which includes over 65 percent of the active members of our country's population—on the role of the Fatherland Front in the National Assembly elections, and on its wide international activity. Comrade Pencho Kubadinski stressed that the visit to Bulgaria last year by a CPPCC delegation and the current visit of the Bulgarian delegation create a qualitatively new level in the relations between the two organizations, as well as an opportunity for regular consultations.

The following took part in the talks on the Bulgarian side: Mincho Peychev, deputy chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council; Georgi Petkov, secretary of the Fatherland Front National Council; and Doncho Donchev, Bulgarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the PRC. Zhou Shaozheng, secretary general of the CPPCC National Committee, and Song Demin, deputy secretary general of the CPPCC National Committee, also took part in the talks on the Chinese side.

The Bulgarian delegation left on a 10-day tour of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and the cities of Xian, Xiamun, and Wuhan, where it will continue the talks begun in Beijing with leaders of the local people's political consultative councils and will acquaint itself with the socioeconomic development and certain notable sights in these regions.

Eighth International Plovdiv Spring Fair Opens

Lukanov Speaks

AU1105120288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 May 88 p 2

[Speech delivered by Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, at the opening ceremony of the Eighth Plovdiv International Spring Fair on 9 May 1988]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades, ladies and gentlemen, the Eighth International Spring Fair exhibiting consumer goods, machines, and technologies for their production, represents above all an opportunity for us to review the potential and achievements of the Bulgarian consumer goods and services producers. Two characteristic features should be pointed out in connection with this review of achievements:

The first is the fact that the fair is taking place under the conditions of essential changes in the accents and priorities of our national economic policy, which requires that the questions of the market situation, of the improvement in the quality and technical standards of the goods, as well as the question of satisfying the consumers' demands should become the main focus of our overall national economic activities, that they should be treated as questions of exceptional importance for the Bulgarian citizens' life quality and for the implementation of the basic social goals pursued by our party's strategy, which was confirmed by the decisions of the BCP Central Committee July Plenum and the BCP National Conference.

The second characteristic feature is the fact that the current review of our achievements is based on the only correct criterion, namely an uncompromising comparison of our results and successes with those of the leading world producers, with the strict standards of the world markets and intentional competition.

Another peculiar feature of the 1988 spring fair is connected with the consolidation of a new economic atmosphere in our country which is the result of the practical application of the historical decisions adopted by the BCP Central Committee July Plenum and by the National Assembly for the democratization of economic life, for overcoming authoritarian-bureaucratic methods of leadership and economic management, placing socialist property under the management and administration of the labor collectives, consolidating the economic units as self-managing and self-financing social communities provided with extensive rights of independent economic activities within the country and abroad. This revolutionary restructuring process in our social life and economy is proceeding against the background of exceptionally important historical changes in international life. New political thinking is asserting itself and manifestations of a positive evolution in international relations from confrontation to cooperation are increasing. The world awaits with great interest the Soviet-American summit in Moscow; it links its hopes for further consolidation of these positive trends with the meeting. There is no doubt that the successes of the Soviet-American dialogue and the consolidation of new political thinking in international relations will play a decisive role not only in the preservation of peace and in guaranteeing the peaceful future of mankind, but also in the development of mutually advantageous economic relations among all countries, especially among countries with different socioeconomic systems.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, with its own foreign policy, is contributing its share to the improvement of the new political thinking in international relations in the Balkans, in Europe, and in the world.

Fundamental changes occurred in the principles of cooperation within the socialist economic community. The application of the economic approaches is expanding; the direct links at the economic level are developing, and gradual transition to the formation of a unified, socialist market is being accomplished. All this reveals unprecedented opportunities for a qualitatively new development of cooperation and integration between Bulgarian economic organizations and their partners in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The global processes in the worldwide economic sphere, despite their complexity and contradictory character, in our opinion, are also leading to a new stage of development in worldwide economic relations, to a stage of democratization, to the stage of creating a truly global, international market in which each national economy will compete under conditions of equality and nondiscrimination for the sake of the people's prosperity and peace among the nations.

Against this background of such dynamic domestic and worldwide changes, which are surrounding us and inspiring us with optimism, we open the Eighth International Spring Fair of consumer goods, machines, and technologies for their production.

We express our gratitude to all exhibitors—both from Bulgaria and abroad. There are 3,000 at this present fair. We also express our gratitude for their support, seen by their participation and attendance, to the Plovdiv Fair as an authoritative economic institution, and we wish them successful negotiations and business deals.

Lukanov Meets PRC's Song

AU1005192788 Sofia BTA in English
1854 GMT 10 May 88

["Bulgaria, China: Techno-Scientific Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Plovdiv, May 10 (BTA)—The visiting here Mr Song Jian, member of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and minister in charge of the State Scientific and Technological Commission, visited the International Spring Fair in Plovdiv today.

He had a meeting with Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria. During the talk the two sides ascertained that after the exchange of visits between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Zhao Ziyang, a considerable advance has been marked in the techno-scientific cooperation between Bulgaria and China.

The guest spoke of his good impressions from the level of the Bulgarian products and technologies exhibited at the

fair. This is a serious base for widening of the techno-scientific exchange, for establishing of joint productions and enrichment of the mutual barter.

Special attention was paid to the activating influence of techno-scientific cooperation on the widening of the economic relations in the conditions of restructuring and deepening decentralization in the two countries' economies. The two sides pointed out the special need and significance of the direct relations between the economic organizations, techno-scientific institutes and higher schools.

Zhivkov Receives Adidas President

AU1005140888 Sofia BTA in English 1320 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, today received Mr Rene Jaeggi, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Adidas AG, who is visiting here for the Eighth International Spring Fair in Plovdiv.

They discussed the opportunities for wider cooperation of the Mladost Economic Organization and other Bulgarian corporations with the West German company.

Zhivkov, Atanasov Greet CSSR on Anniversary

AU1005085888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 May 88 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following message to Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Gustav Husak, CSSR president, and Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier:

Dear comrades,

The BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and all Bulgarian working people send most cordial greetings and wishes to the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, and the fraternal CSSR people on the CSSR National Holiday.

The liberation of your country, which took place 43 years ago with the decisive assistance of the Soviet Army, reveaged the road toward constructing the new society. The Bulgarian working people sincerely rejoice with your remarkable successes in socialist construction, achieved under the CPCZ leadership. Today fraternal Czechoslovakia is a highly developed socialist country with a quickly developing material and intellectual culture.

Then CSSR is making a significant contribution to developing socialist economic integration and strengthening friendship and cooperation among the Warsaw Pact member states. The CSSR has achieved high international authority through its principled foreign policy, aimed at security, peace, and detente.

We note with satisfaction that fraternal relations of comprehensive cooperation, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, exist between our parties, countries, and nations. We are convinced that the resructuring of the socialist society, which is being carried out in our countries, will raise Bulgarian-CSSR relations to a new and higher level.

On the day of your bright anniversary, dear comrades, from the bottom of our hearts we wish you and the fraternal CSSR people new and further successes in all areas of life and in the struggle for world peace and progress.

Prague Reports Urban News Conference
LD1005211188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban briefed the press at today's news conference in Warsaw on current developments in the country. Our correspondent Pavel Kopecky has telephoned with the details:

[Kopecky] The strike involving several hundred people is continuing in Gdansk shipyard. After yesterday's attempt to begin a strike, the Ursus tractor plant in Warsaw is working normally today and the situation in Polish higher educational establishments is at long last calming down. This is the latest information. Despite the efforts by Western radio stations which are creating a kind of psychosis—as if the entire country is on strike and a new crisis is occurring in Poland—the strike and protest actions, stressed Jerzy Urban, have not won the support of the working class and society. The illegal strikes, the threats of strikes, the unrest, and the demonstrations which in the last few days have gripped certain groups of the population have been, according to the Polish government spokesman, caused by dissatisfaction which has wider causes. The government is aware of this; it understands the impatience of those whose life is not easy and it draws conclusions from this situation. Jerzy Urban said it is important to realize that the people gambling with Poland's fate have not succeeded in gaining wider support and in using dissatisfaction against the policy of reforms and renewal.

The Polish Government spokesman said that the strikes were started in the name of wage demands by certain groups of workers, but the working class quickly realized that a struggle for higher wages could cause a chain reaction and endanger the second stage of the reform that has already begun. It is necessary to work to improve the standard of living. Being on strike can only lead to a lowering in the standard of living, said the government spokesman. However, the May unrest has made a contribution in that the government is aiming its efforts at a much more consistent development of reform and at winning social acceptance for its implementation.

CTK Cites Papers on Senate INF Decision
LD1105085488 Prague CTK in English 0810 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Bratislava May 11 (CTK)—The decision of the U.S. Senate Democratic Majority Leader Robert Byrd to postpone indefinitely debate on the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty was described by the Slovak daily PRAVDA today as lacking seriousness.

The paper pointed out that undoubtedly, "also the White House shares responsibility for this step as it recently, as if returning to the beaten track, fired a series of hostile propaganda volleys against the Soviet partner". This was naturally welcomed by opponents to the process of improvement of East-West relations.

The U.S. President has several times expressed belief that the treaty would be ratified. The Soviet Union has many times met the U.S. demands, including the issue of verification, and went farther than the U.S. expected. Moscow has refuted the opinion that the Soviet Union was afraid of consistent inspections, and has shown its interest in creating mutual confidence. The U.S. side, however, has harmed especially its own reputation through maneuvering with the act of ratification, PRAVDA said, adding that as it is not the first case of its kind, the question of seriousness of the U.S. as a negotiating partner is justified and urgent not only at present, but also for the future.

There are two evident reasons why the U.S. Senate leaders have unexpectedly hampered the ratification process, today's RUDE PRAVO said, pointing out that on one hand it was the protest itself, and on the other the maneuvering of the Democratic leaders, who regard the first Soviet-U.S. disarmament treaty that would be ratified after 16 years as a political advantage for the Republicans in the year of the presidential elections.

Husak's Order on Liberation Anniversary
AU1005094388 Prage RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 May 88 p 2

["CSSR President's Order of the Day on 43d Liberation Anniversary"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—CSSR President Gustav Husak has issued the Order of the Day on the 43d anniversary of the culmination of the Czechoslovak people's national liberation struggle and Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army.

Comrade-members of the CSSR Armed Forces!

These days we are recalling historical events of 43 years ago, when the defeat of Hitlerite Germany ended World War II in Europe. The victorious conclusion of the national liberation struggle and the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army restored the Czechoslovak people's national freedom and state sovereignty.

The fact that it was the Soviet Union, which at the price of extremely heavy sacrifices had the decisive credit in the defeat of fascism and the saving of human civilization, will never vanish from the memory of nations. The example of its heroism and valiance roused millions-strong masses of European nations into a struggle against the Nazi bondage. It is to its credit that after the victorious conclusion of World War II the influence and attractiveness of the ideas of socialism have immensely increased. Favorable conditions were created for the development of national and democratic revolutions, for the establishment of people's power in a number of countries, and for the birth of the socialist community on the principles of socialist internationalism.

The Czechoslovak people, too, fearlessly fought fascism. In an illegal movement, in the Slovak national uprising, in the May uprising of the Czechoslovak people, in partisan units, in the ranks of the Czechoslovak I Army Corps in the USSR, and on other fronts of World War II hundreds of thousands of patriots contributed by shedding blood for the liberation of our fatherland. The CPCZ was the leading force in the national liberation struggle, which has been consistently associated with the struggle of the Soviet people and the ideals of social justice. We will never forget those who gave their lives in that struggle for the freedom of our fatherland.

The heroism and sacrifices of the people in the national liberation struggle have become for our people one of the sources of determination in building a new, socially just society—socialism. In the construction work and in the great postwar struggles, the working people succeeded in defending the legacy of the national liberation struggle against plots of reaction. In February 1948 they thwarted its attempt to restore capitalist order. Despite all the obstacles and difficulties they fulfilled the tasks of the transition from capitalism to socialism, built foundations for socialism, and began building developed socialist society. Thanks to the active Czechoslovak foreign policy, and the close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, the international position of our state became consolidated, and its security reliably ensured.

It is our duty to develop further the achievements of the revolutionary changes. The strategy of social restructuring worked out by the 17th CPCZ Congress and concretized by the sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee put great demands on everyone. It requires not only that the revolutionary continuity be respected, but also that there be new, more effective approaches to work, greater courage, decisiveness, consistency, and responsibility.

We are implementing the tasks that times have put before us in a dynamically developing international situation, characterized by the peace initiative of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact member states, by their effort to avert the threat of war, improve the international atmosphere, and develop constructive international cooperation. This effort is being constantly disrupted by the reactionary forces of imperialism, which continue to persue their policy from a position of strength and to interfere in internal affairs of sovereign states; to aggravate tension in various regions of the world; to continue feverish arms buildup, and to try to gain military superiority.

For these reasons—in accordance with their defensive military doctrine—the Warsaw Pact member states are forced to maintain their armed forces in such a structure and at such a level that it would be possible for them to beat back any attack from the outside. The CSSR Armed Forces, too, must continually improve their combat and political preparedness and increase their combat readiness to be—together with the Soviet Army and the other armies of the Warsaw Pact states—ready to ensure reliable defense of our fatherland and the countries of the socialist community.

Comrade-members of the CSSR Armed Forces!

I congratulate you on the 43d anniversary of the culmination of the Czechoslovak people's national liberation struggle and our fatherland's liberation by the Soviet Army.

Safeguard vigilantly the immortal legacy of our nations' common antifascist struggle. In the interest of the CSSR's further prosperity and ensuring its reliable defense and protection, approach the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress actively. Deepen your combat mastery, your love for the socialist fatherland, and your dedication to the CPCZ.

On the occasion of the 43d anniversary of the culmination of the Czechoslovak people's national liberation struggle and Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army, I order on 8 May 1988 at 2000 the firing 20 artillery salvoes in the CSSR capital of Prague and in the capital of the Slovak SR Bratislava.

Honor and glory to the fighters of the national liberation antifascist struggle!

May our friendship, cooperation, and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community and the comradeship-in-arms with their armed forces live long and prosper!

Under the CPCZ leadership, toward further successes in building and defending our socialist fatherland!

Leaders Attend Rally

AU1105085788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 May 88 p 1

["(FM)"-signed report: "Festive Gathering in the Palace of Culture in Prague; Continuing the Revolutionary Feat; CPCZ Central Committee Delegation Led by Comrade Milos Jakes; Speech by Comrade Jaroslav Hajn; Commemoration Ceremonies in Other Places"]

[Excerpt] Prague—The CPCZ Central Committee, the National Front Central Committees of the CSSR and the Czech SR, the Governments of the CSSR and the Czech SR, and the party and state agencies of the capital Prague organized on Thursday [5 May] afternoon a festive gathering of working people and youth. On the occasion of the 43d anniversary of the culmination of the Czechoslovak working people's fight for national liberation and of the liberation of our fatherland by the Soviet Army, fighters from the Prague barricades, members of

the Czechoslovak Army Corps in the USSR, and representatives of the Prague citizens assembled in the Congress Hall of the Palace of Culture in Prague.

The participants in the gathering cordially welcomed Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary; Gustav Husak, CSSR president; the other members of CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Ladislav Adamec, Vasil Bilak, Alois Indra, Josef Kempny, and Jozef Lenart; candidate members of CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Josef Haman and Miroslav Zavadil; Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission; CPCZ Central Committee secretaries Mikulas Beno and Frantisek Hanus; and members of CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat Zdenek Horeni, Marie Kabrhelova, Vasil Mohorita, Jindrich Polednik, and Miroslav Stepan.

The gathering was also attended by Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR, and by representatives of other representative offices of the socialist countries in the CSSR.

Among those present were heads of CPCZ Central Committee departments; deputy premiers and ministers of the CSSR and Czech SR Governments; representatives of the CSSR National Assembly, the Czech National Council, and the agencies of political parties and social organizations of the National Front; generals of the Czechoslovak People's Army; and other personalities.

The festive gathering was opened by the Czechoslovak and Soviet national anthems. The main speech was delivered by Comrade Jaroslav Hajn. [passage omitted]

Results of CEMA Comprehensive Program Viewed
AU1005194688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 May 88 p 4

[Interview with Bohumil Danes, section chief at the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development, by Vaclav Marek: "Methods of Management Are Changing; Results of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress"; place and date of interview not given]

[Excerpts] It is now 2 years since the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 was adopted, long enough to be able to assess what has acquitted itself well in implementing it and what has not. We have therefore asked Bohumil Danes, section chief at the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development, about experiences with the implementation of the program thus far.

[Marek] What specific results has the comprehensive program yielded?

[Danes] A total of 285 cooperation agreements and 900 contracts for specific research projects or production sharing ventures have been concluded in countries that participate in the program. Some 350 new products and technological processes have come into being. Czechoslovak organizations have accomplished 131 scientific-research projects and launched 87 new products and technological processes. The initial years of the implementation of the comprehensive program have primarily been a period of clarifying legislative and legal regulations and of seeking new mechanisms of cooperation.

[Marek] The figures on completed solutions and signed contracts that you have cited evidently fall short of the original projections.

[Danes] The conclusion of contracts really is behind schedule, which was also criticized at the recent 38th session of the CEMA Committee for Scientific-Technical Cooperation. Never before have we faced a task of such complexity as the coordination on an international scale of the operations of 1,500 organizations, which is the number of organizations involved in the implementation of the comprehensive program. We have had little experience to rely on and today, after 2 years of experience, we see that some principles of organizing the program that we adopted at the beginning are outdated and need to be changed.

[Marek] What has not acquitted itself well?

[Danes] It has turned out that it is virtually impossible to coordinate the program from the center to the minutest detail. Not all organizations discharge their obligations as well as project coordinators [gestori], so that the solution of some projects is duplicated in several places. It is apparent that the selection of organizations as project coordinators was not always a good one; insufficient account was taken of their technical standard and of their capacity to assign ambitious tasks. Some tasks have been formulated by the project coordinators in so undemanding a manner that the organizations involved in the solution of the problem already routinely attain the set parameters and the comprehensive program therefore does not motivate them, in fact, to seek further development.

The slow application of the results of development in the production process remains the basic flaw, however; the hitch is in the follow-up cooperation in manufacturing. It was not wise to appoint as project coordinators research organizations that do not have any links with manufacturing. The completion of the development stage is thus followed by the well-known tedious process of conversion into the application stage, a process that is all the more complicated as, in many instances, one state and its organizations take care of development while another state assumes responsibility for manufacturing. Some

manufacturing organizations operating as project coordinators, on the other hand, are engulfed in the problems of day-to-day management and, consequently, do not devote sufficient attention to the prospects of technical development.

[Marek] Given all these problems, would it not be best if an organization and a country that took over the solution of a research problem also assumed responsibility for manufacturing and for fully meeting the needs of the other states?

[Danes] Of course, this is possible in some instances. [passage omitted] However, on the other hand it is necessary to realize that no single country is yet in the position to fully meet the needs of the vast Soviet market, for example. We therefore have to find a way of passing on the results of research. To be candid, we have not yet fully come to terms with the methodology of fixing prices for the results of development work. It is not easy to find a way of projecting the difference between good and bad development ideas into the price.

[Marek] What changes are being prepared?

[Danes] The mechanism of managing the comprehensive program is undergoing considerable changes. All the details will no longer be coordinated from the center. Henceforth, only the target projects comprising fundamental technological or product innovations that have a major impact on the economies of most countries will be approved at the highest level. The method of drafting these programs has also changed. All states have been invited to submit their proposals for such programs. A total of 46 proposals have come together, of which 16 have been selected thus far.

[Marek] Will the method of selecting project coordinators for these programs undergo changes as well?

[Danes] Of course. Every country that is interested in operating as the coordinator for a project must propose the technical parameters of its method of solution and demonstrate that it is capable of accomplishing the task. The best proposals with the greatest guarantees will be selected. This is a certain form of competitive bidding.

[Marek] Do Czechoslovak organizations reckon with participation in the target programs?

[Danes] We have submitted on behalf of Czechoslovakia 10 proposals for the selection of priority directions [of research], eight of which have been endorsed by the other countries. They have endorsed them as proposals that conform the best also with their own interests in technological development. We reckon that we shall also apply for the role of project coordinator, but all the economic implications must be weighed first. Some projects require multibillion investments each year, which is beyond the capacity of our economy. [passage omitted]

Vaclavik Received by Austrian Chancellor

LD1005133988 Prague CTK in English
1300 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Vienna May 10 (CTK correspondent)—Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Czechoslovak Defense Minister Army General Milan Vaclavik appreciated here today the first visit of a Czechoslovak defense minister to Austria as an expression of strengthening confidence between the two countries.

The two representatives stated that Czechoslovak-Austrian relations improved considerably over the past few years and confirmed the two countries' political will to further develop them on a qualitatively higher level. They also expressed the conviction that the chancellor's planned visit to Czechoslovakia will be another stimulus to the development of bilateral contacts.

Minister Vaclavik, on an official visit to Austria since Monday, was also received today by Inspector General of the Austrian Army Othmar Taschitz who informed him of Austria's military doctrine.

Rovensky Speaks on Jakes Initiative

LD1005125988 Prague CTK in English
1215 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Prague May 10 (CTK)—Responses to the Czechoslovak proposal for the creation of a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations along the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states are positive, Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Dusan Rovensky told a news conference here today.

The proposal is fully supported by the socialist countries. A number of NATO states, neutral and nonaligned countries, political parties and movements, parliaments and institutions positively assess its complexity and peace-seeking goals. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization as a whole has not yet officially responded to the proposal but some of its members, for instance the USA, have appreciated the aspects of cooperation in the ecological and humanitarian spheres.

The proposal has been positively assessed by India and Mozambique as well as by the parliaments of Argentina, Syria, Switzerland and Tunisia and the Arab League. The Czechoslovak initiative was also positively assessed by the Vatican, Dusan Rovensky said.

He also dealt with the Czechoslovak stand on the third special U.N. session to be held from May 31 to June 25 and to deal with disarmament. He said Czechoslovakia regards the session as a significant event which can positively influence the disarmament process in the world. Its participants should proceed from the document adopted by the first special U.N. session on disarmement, he added and said Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek will address the session.

Dusan Rovensky questioned a recent statement by a French Foreign Ministry spokesman about the violation of human rights in Czechoslovakia and said that such statements harm the building of confidence and cooperation between nations and constitute an act of interference in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs.

Dealing with the situation in the Middle East, the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman recalled Czechoslovakia's initiative to host an unofficial conference of experts and scientists specializing in the Middle East affairs.

Committee Prepares for 13th World Youth Festival
AU1005090188 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 May 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Festival Preparations"]

[Text] Prague—The Czechoslovak National Preparatory Committee of the 13th World Youth and Students' Festival, which will be held in summer 1989 in DPRK's capital Pyongyang, met in Prague yesterday [5 May] for its second session. It assessed the present state of preparations for the participation of Czechoslovak young people in the festival and approved a press report which states, among other things: The Preparatory Committee has appraised the results achieved to date and, on the basis of suggestions submitted by many youth union organizations and pioneer groups, it adopted the principles on which the honorary title "Collective of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students" would be granted and proposals for the competition "Festival Flower," of which "Goal 90," "Sources," and the "Festival Solidarity Fund of the Socialist Youth Union (SSM)" will be part. The Committee is convinced that these initiatives will help to increase the participation of young people in the accomplishment of society-wide tasks. At the proposal of the SSM Central Committee, the account "SSM Solidarity Fund" was renamed (as of 1 May 1988) "Festival SSM Solidarity Fund." The Preparatory Committee appeals to all youth union bodies and organizations, pioneer groups and units, organizations rallied in the National Front, and the Czechoslovak public to express their support for the main idea of the festival—Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace, and Friendship—by contributing to the Festival SSM Solidarity Fund.

Lenart Addresses Antifascist Fighters
AU1005073688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 May 88 p 4

[Unattributed report on speech by Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and head of the joint delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, CSSR National Front Central Committee, and CSSR Government, at the opening of the Eighth National Congress of the Czechoslovak Union of Antifascist Fighters in Prague on 3 May]

[Text] Comrade Jozef Lenart began his speech by conveying personal greetings to the delegates and guests at the congress from Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, and from CSSR President Gustav Husak; and by thanking the officials and members of the Czechoslovak Union of Antifascist Fighters (CSSPB) for all they have contributed to the fight to preserve and consolidate peace and the people's patriotic and international education (particularly the education of children and young people) since the union's seventh congress.

The preparation and course of the Eighth CSSPB Congress holds a dignified place in the joint struggle to accelerate social and economic development, for comprehensive restructuring, and to intensify socialist democracy. In terms of its demanding tasks, the strategic line of accelerating the CSSR's socioeconomic development (which is essentially concurrent with the CPSU's strategic course) has no precedent in the entire history of our socialist construction after February 1948. The purpose of this line is to raise our society to a qualitatively higher level and to establish conditions for a dynamic development of socialism, an upsurge of the economy, a further improvement of the people's material and cultural standards, and an all-round renewal of our society. In our view, the decisive starting point in accomplishing these tasks lies in intensifying deepening socialist democracy and restructuring the economic mechanism. The common factor of progressive changes in all spheres of our life is their orientation toward developing all sources of the people's creative forces, their activity, and their initiative in order to meet the needs of our society and our citizens in an improved way. All changes in our policy, economy, and social development must be in line with the guarantee that it will be a socialist development. Moreover, we have repeatedly stated that such a guarantee lies in the fact that the revolutionary process is headed by the party.

The restructuring of our society must therefore apply to restructuring the practices in the economy and management, but also the political influence on the people, as was stated so emphatically by the recent ninth CPCZ Central Committee session. That is why restructuring envisages changes in both the style and methods of party work, and in the entire National Front and its organizations.

We have now entered the 3d year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. We frankly state that it will be a most demanding year, that we will have to make a great effort to cope with its tasks. We have noted that the intensification process and the restructuring of the economy are developing inadequately, and that the quality and technical-economic standards of products are not up to par. These are also the main causes of the irregular development and tension in economic relations, which are negatively reflected on the domestic market and in the effectiveness of our foreign trade. Restructuring today has become a

matter of practical activity—we are taking practical steps to implement the new mechanism for managing the national economy. The contents of the activities pursued by our central agencies must be changed, bureaucracy must be overcome, and sufficient scope created for the sphere of economic accountability [khozrascyet] to develop independent creative activity. The ninth CPCZ Central Committee session stressed that it is essential to step up the demanding rate of all activities, for we cannot afford to lose time, to hesitate, to mark time. We must cut down the duration of the period when the old mechanism is no longer fully operational, while the new one is only beginning to function. We must not let staff in the management sphere be ignorant of the immediate tasks. The loss of time would merely intensify the negative phenomena in our whole life—in the economy, the social sphere, and in trade.

However, it must be stressed that restructuring is not (as some people think) a matter concerning only the "people higher up." It can be successful only if it becomes a concern for the entire society, for every working collective and social organization—only if every citizen finds his place in it; and this will happen only if we dramatically intensify socialist democracy.

It is the duty of all National Front organizations to assist in showing the citizens a correct and responsible approach to restructuring, in unifying their attitudes and their will in the spirit of the CPCZ line adopted by the National Front organizations.

This clashes with the plans of our class enemy, who would like to halt and frustrate our progress. The people's approval for restructuring is accompanied by the activation of our adversaries at home and abroad. They are forming various groupings, aimed at giving shape to the opposition forces and at creating political tension and a confrontation with the policy pursued by the National Front and the government. They want to take advantage of the problems in restructuring and the democratization of our society and to abuse economic and ecological problems, national and religious sentiments, national traditions, and cultural and artistic activities.

True, there are certain problems in relations between the Vatican and our state, but these can be gradually solved. A general concord exists between the representatives of the state and the churches, and also the goodwill to assess the problems that really exist by means of serious negotiations. After all, the agreement between the Czechoslovak Government and the Vatican on the new bishops of the Roman Catholic Church convincingly proves this.

The Communist Party and our entire National Front have embarked upon the restructuring process in the awareness that it will be carried out not only by CPCZ members, but also by members of other political parties and organizations rallied in the National Front, by Czechs, Slovaks, and other nationalities—by fellow citizens whose awareness is shaped by social tradition. Faith need not hamper these citizens in their struggle for restructuring and peace.

The congress of your organization also confirms that most of our citizens sincerely welcome economic restructuring and democratization in the spirit of "more democracy means more socialism." Every National Front organization should step up its independence and initiative in developing its specific mission, expressing the possibilities and interests of its members, and helping in the common creation of resources and thus also in meeting the members' needs.

What we need now, and will also need in our future political-educational work (particularly with young people), is a businesslike attitude, patience, courage, and prudence. To respect the maturing personality of young people, while simultaneously awakening their pride in the history of our nations, their love of our fatherland, the determination to live their lives honestly, to the full, and to set themselves noble aims, to doggedly overcome obstacles, to learn to distinguish and support the real humanitarian values in our present complicated world, that is full of dissension, to realize their place in this world and where they belong internationally—all this has always been (and is) the primary task of the family, of schools, of our society.

We highly appreciate the particular significance you attach to work with the youth. It proves that joint, lively, specific activity in explaining and documenting the history of the antifascist struggle in individual areas and personal contacts with the direct participants in those events all leave a lasting trace in the young people's hearts and minds. Together with the Socialist Youth Union and its Pioneer Organization, you have taken the right path here.

It is almost symbolic that the congresses of an organization rallying those who directly participated in antifascist resistance are traditionally held just before 5 and 9 May. We commemorate 5 May as the culmination of our domestic resistance; and the whole progressive world celebrates 9 May as victory day, as liberation day. Today the place of honor rightly belongs to those who have paid for the right to live and work in freedom with the blood shed in the foremost lines of the front or at the enemy's rear, with immense sufferings in concentration camps, to those who have survived the perversions of fascism and at the graves of its victims have solemnly sworn not to permit the legacy of antifascist resistance (which is still topical) to be forgotten by our nations and by all progressive mankind.

Apart from these educational activities, the antifascist fighters have devoted all their energy to renewing the country that was devastated by war and to building socialism. Many of them are still on active service, justly enjoying the respect and esteem of our society.

I want to express my conviction that, in the coming period, in line with the resources created by us, we will continue to further extend and improve the quality of medical and social care for those who directly participated in the resistance movement.

During the preparations for your congress, some people also pondered the nature of your organization, the CSSPB, expressing concern that its membership base is getting older and wondering whether it could still fulfill its mission. Some even recommended broadening the new memberships to include people who did not directly participate in the resistance and who are not even direct members of a participant's family. The congress report replies to this. It is becoming apparent that the union is politically and ideologically strong, because of the people it rallies—i.e. active resistance fighters. We assure you that our Communist Party, the National Front, and our entire society respect the work of your organization and must also count on it in the future.

The decisive condition for carrying out our plans is the maintenance of peace, a continued disarmament process, the creation of a comprehensive mechanism of international security, and the establishment of an atmosphere of understanding among peoples. The purposeful, practical steps undertaken on a long-term basis by the USSR, our own country, the entire socialist community, and the strengthening peace movement in the world have been directed toward this.

We are glad that your congress is hosting participants from the Great Patriotic War and the representatives of antifascist resistance organizations from the countries of the former antifascist coalition and from Asian countries, and also members of resistance movements from many other countries. Who else but you, who have survived the consequences of the intractable longings of fascist hegemony, can have a greater moral right to sound the alarm to warn mankind of a nuclear catastrophe, rousing mankind's conscience and its responsibility for the fate of our planet? Together with you, esteemed foreign guests, we regard this as the joint mission of all antifascist organizations and movements, as the base of their joint actions to form the broadest possible front against the policy of confrontation, to enforce new political thinking in international relations.

I assure the delegates and guests at the congress that, in collaboration with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, in contact with all forces that are willing to conduct an honest dialogue on these issues, we will continue to orient the policy of our country toward ensuring a calm, peaceful life for our people and all nations throughout the world. This is attested to by the proposal of Comrade Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, that a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations should gradually emerge along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

Kessler Meets USSR Defense Minister Yazov

LD1005151488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1330 GMT 10 May 99

[Text] Berlin, 10 May (ADN)—GDR minister for national defense, Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, met on Tuesday with the USSR defense minister, Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, for official talks. The defense ministers conducted an exchange of views on current international problems and further development of relations between both fraternal armies.

The meeting in the Defense Ministry took place in a cordial atmosphere and was marked by agreement on views.

The guest is staying for a visit lasting several days in the GDR as the head of a USSR military delegation, at the invitation of the GDR party and state leadership.

Army General Heinz Kessler spoke about realizing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress in their unity of economic and social policy. The industrious and creative work of the GDR people is at all times reliably protected by NVA [National People's Army] soldiers at the side of their Soviet comrades-in-arms and other allies, true to the consistent defensive character of their military doctrine. The basis of the success is the leadership, linked to the masses, of the party of the working class.

The GDR defense minister paid tribue to the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles and described the premature withdrawal and destruction of shorter-range missiles as a significant concession in the process of disarmament and detente. Through the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones, to be convened in Berlin in June on the initiative of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, the GDR is making a further contribution toward improving the situation in the world.

The members of the NVA will also do everything in the future to protect peace jointly with their comrades-in-arms. The close cooperation with the partner troop units in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany is proving itself in this respect.

Army General Dmitriy Yazov reported on the efforts of the USSR working people and soldiers to fulfill the decisions of the 27th CPSU Party Congress, in particular the active realization of the Soviet party and state leadership peace initiatives. He conveyed to all members of the Ministry for National Defense and the NVA the personal greetings and the high esteem of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Defense Council, Mikhail Gorbachev. Minister Yazov stressed that the Soviet Army and Naval Fleet is fulfilling its patriotic and internationalist duty of protecting the peaceful construction work of the Soviet people and fraternal countries, and contributing to saving mankind from a nuclear catastrophe. He explained the USSR's efforts to successfully conclude negotiations with the United States on a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive nuclear missiles and to realize the treaty on eliminating intermediate-range missiles.

Members of the Ministry for National Defense staff and Dr Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy minister for foreign affairs, took part in the talks. Present were USSR Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov; the head of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, Army General Aleksey Lizichev; the deputy USSR defense ministers, Marshal of Aviation Aleksandr Yefimov and Army General Vitaliy Shabanov; the commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG], Army General Boris Snetkov; member of the Military Council and head of the Political Directorate of the GSFG, Colonel General Nikolay Moiseyev; and the representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Forces of the member states of the Warsaw Pact in the GDR NVA, Colonel General Vladimir Meretskov.

In the evening the GDR defense minister is giving a dinner to honor the Soviet military delegation.

The delegation was greeted on the same day at Berlin Schoenefeld Airport with a military ceremony.

During its stay in the GDR it will visit troop units and NVA establishments.

Honor World War II Dead

LD1005173188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1547 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 10 May (ADN)—In Berlin today, a USSR military delegation, headed by Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov, honored the victims of fascism and militarism and the Soviet heroes who fell in the liberation of the city in 1945. It laid wreaths at the Unter den Linden memorial and at the Soviet memorial in Treptow.

Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, was accompanied by GDR defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo.

At the memorial for the victims of fascism and militarism, the personages paused before the obelisk and the urns containing soil from battlefields of World War II and from former fascist concentration camps.

In Treptow, the Soviet generals, admirals, and officers bowed in commemoration of their companions who gave their lives during the attack on the last bastion of Hitlerite fascism, of whom 5,000 found their last resting place here.

Visit Tank Division

LD1105090288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0817 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 11 May (ADN)—Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR defense minister and CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, now in the GDR heading a military delegation, this morning visited the GDR's Heinz Hoffmann tank division. Together with Heinz Kessler, GDR Defense Minister and SED Central Committee Politburo member, he acquainted himself with the high state of political wnd combat training in land force units. The guests were welcomed at a division ground exercise by Colonel Gen Horst Stechbarth, deputy defense minister and chief of the ground forces command. The division is rich in tradition, and its soldiers fulfill their task of protecting socialist achievements in close partnership with their Soviet comrades in arms. Commander Col Hans Christian Reiche reported that the heritage of Heinz Hoffmann, the Spanish civil war fighter and antifascist, and former GDR defense minister, was an inspiration for the troops to perform at a high level.

'GDR-CSSR Joint Days of Culture' Begins

Hager Meets Czech Official

LD1005220388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1551 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 10 May (ADN)—Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, today received the Czech SR minister of culture, Dr Milan Kymlicka, who is heading the official CSSR delegation to the GDR for the opening of the "GDR-CSSR Joint Days of Culture."

On the basis of the conclusions reached during the meeting between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, the partners in the talks discussed topical cultural policy objectives in the two countries.

Building on the long traditions of close cooperation between the cultural workers and artists of the GDR and the CSSR, all proven forms of cooperation will be continued, and new paths embarked upon which serve the deepening of mutual understanding and friendship and the reciprocal enriching of the national cultures of the two countries. Both sides stressed that of particular importance in this connection are the "GDR-CSSR Joint Days of Culture" taking place in the GDR 11-18 May.

Krolikowski Meets Czech Officials

LD1005220988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1724 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 10 May (ADN)—Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, today received Dr Milan Kymlicka, minister of culture of the Czech SR, and Dr Vladimir Cerevka, deputy minister of culture of the Slovak SR.

The two sides acknowledged the good state of friendship and all-round fraternal cooperation between the GDR and the CSSR, particularly the "GDR-CSSR Joint Days of Culture," which are seen as an important, high point in cultural cooperation.

PRC's Ni Zhifu Leads Trade Union Delegation

Meets With Honecker

LD1005115188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0828 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 10 May (ADN)—On Tuesday the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, Erich Honecker, received for a talk Ni Zhifu, member of the CPC Central Committee, deputy chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee of the PRC and chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

During the meeting, which took place in a friendly and open-minded atmosphere, Ni Zhifu conveyed the warmest greetings from Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. Erich Honecker reciprocated the greetings just as warmly. His meetings with Zhao Ziyang in Beijing in 1986 and in Berlin in 1987 have been very fruitful and have made a decisive contribution to further deepening the traditional relations between the two parties, states and peoples.

Erich Honecker gave extensive information on the many-sided initiatives of the GDR's working people to realize the decisions of the 11th SED Party Congress and to promote the unity of economic and social policy. He stressed the important role of the trade unions in the GDR's social life and emphasized that the perfection of socialist democracy in the enterprises and establishments takes place above all via further development of the extensive rights and obligations of the trade unions. Under the motto "Help in Working, Help in Planning, Help in Governing," extensive possibilities for active participation in the management and planning of the national economy are open to each trade unionist.

On foreign policy issues, Erich Honecker stressed that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles is an important first step on the road to a world without nuclear weapons. It is now a matter of making intensified efforts in order not to allow a pause in the process of disarmament. Great importance is accorded to the forthcoming summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Moscow.

The GDR will support all peace initiatives in the future as well and will contribute actively to the struggle for further zero solutions in the nuclear, chemical and

conventional area. The GDR has received with joy the PRC's acceptance of its invitation to participate in the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones, by sending a delegation to the meeting, to take place in the GDR's capital.

Erich Honecker pointed out the special responsibility of the working class and its trade unions in the struggle for peace and disarmament. He described the dialogue and joint actions by the more than 500 million trade unionists in the world, transcending all philosophical and organizational barriers, as an important factor in securing peace.

Ni Zhifu explained the decisions of the 13th CPC Party Congress on social strategy, and briefed Erich Honecker on the main aims of the further social development of his country. In particular he dealt with the tasks involved in realizing the Seventh 5-Year Plan. Results to date have created a good and stable base for further developing economic strength, and increasing the material and intellectual-cultural living standard of the working people.

Taking part in the talks was Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation. Also present was the charge d'affaires ad interim of the PRC in the GDR, Xin Futan.

Meets With FDGB

LD1005192288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1431 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 10 May (ADN)—Delegations of the FDGB National Executive Council and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU), under the leadership of their chairmen, Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and Ni Zhifu, member of the CPC Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Standing Committee of the PRC National People's Congress, met for talks today in Berlin.

The tasks and experiences of the trade unions of the GDR and the PRC in representing the interests of the working people of the two countries were discussed. It was stressed that the prime position, as always, is occupied by the untiring struggle for the preservation and securing of peace. The numerous peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states were praised. Special importance was accorded to the treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on the liquidation of their nuclear missiles of intermediate- and shorter-range.

Both sides stressed that, with the help of the strength of the trade unions, it is important to make the most of every chance to work for disarmament until mankind is free from all means of mass destruction. The earnest will of the socialist states to secure peace has been documented with the premature withdrawal of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles from the GDR and the CSSR. The presentation of the military base in Waren as a holidary home to the FDGB was described by the Chinese trade unionists as unique proof of the possibilities disarmament can reveal in the interests of mankind.

Harry Tisch explained the extensive tasks of the GDR trade unions. An irreplaceable role is accorded to the trade unions as the representatives of the interests of the working people, and as organizers of socialist competition.

Harry Tisch illustrated the active engagement of the trade union organizations in the enterprises and establishments, in ensuring that preconditions for the continuous improvement of working and living conditions are created through a constant rise in performance in the national economy. He underlined that the working people of the GDR are following with interest the great efforts of the Chinese people in the construction of socialism. The successes achieved are finding great acknowledgement.

Ni Zhifu detailed the role of the PRC trade unions and gave information on the tasks of the ACFTU in the realization of the decisions of the 13th CPC Party Congress, which worked out a realistic program for the construction of socialism in China. In this process great responsibility was accorded to the trade unions. It is now a matter of doing it justice consistently. He pointed out the great achievements the people of his country are making through industrious work to fulfill their many tasks.

The talks took place in an atmosphere of fraternal solidarity. Participating on the FDGB side were Johanna Toepfer, deputy chairman of the National Executive Council; Frank Bochow, member of the presidium and secretary of the National Executive Council; Dietmar Krist, chairman of the Leipzig FDGB Bezirk excutive; and Peter Fritz, department head in the FDGB National Executive Council.

Among the ACFTU delegation were Luo Shuzhen, member of the ACFTU presidium and chairman of the Post and Telecommunications Trade Union; Qian Dadong, departmental head in the ACFTU; Chen Bingquan, staff member of the ACFTU Secretariat; and Jiang Lieqing, deputy sector head at the ACFTU.

Sindermann Receives SPD Bundestag Group

LD1005222588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1613 GMT 10 May 88

[Excerpt] Berlin, 10 May (ADN)—People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received on Thursday for

talks a delegation of agricultural experts from the SPD group in the Bundestag, which is in the GDR at the invitation of the GDR People's Chamber.

Horst Sindermann acknowledged the delegation's visit as an expression of the further development of relations between the GDR People's Chamber and the FRG Bundestag. He said that, proceeding from the responsibility of the two German states for peaceful coexistence in Europe, as underlined in the joint communique on the visit to the FRG by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, a positive impetus must emanate from the shaping of their bilateral relations for peaceful cooperation and dialogue in and beyond Europe. He underlined the great importance of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles as the first step on the path of disarmament.

The early withdrawal of intermediate-range missiles from GDR territory showed the GDR's serious desire to free the common European home from this evil for ever.

Horst Sielaff, head of the SPD Bundestag delegation, and Horst Sindermann agreed that the maintenance and preservation of peace was and remains the central task of mankind and that the GDR and FRG must undertake everything in their power to comprehensively promote the process of detente and disarmament.

The two sides praised the development of relations between the GDR and FRG in various areas and stressed their existing and further development in the agricultural, forestry, and foodstuffs industry. Horst Sindermann informed his guests about the work of the People's Chamber and its committees.

The talk was attended by Michael Koplanski, chairman of the People's Chamber Agriculture, Forestry, and Foodstuffs Committee. [passage omitted]

Tanzanian Prime Minister Arrives 10 May

LD1005131288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1201 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 10 May (ADN)—The prime minister and first vice president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Joseph Sinde Warioba, arrived at midday today for an official visit in the GDR. He is taking up an invitation from Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, who warmly welcomed his guest at Berlin Schoenefeld Airport.

A military ceremony to honor the Tanzanian statesman took place on the airfield, which was decorated with the state flags of both countries and the red banner of the International Workers' Movement.

Received by Willi Stoph

LD1005214688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1449 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 10 May (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Joseph Sinde Warioba, prime minister and first vice president of the United Republic of Tanzania, at the Council of Ministers building in Berlin this afternoon for a preliminary exchange of views.

The official talks began afterwards.

Meets With Stoph

LD1005215688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1823 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 10 May (ADN)—Joseph Sinde Warioba, prime minister and first vice president of the United Republic of Tanzania, today welcomed on behalf of his country the GDR's initiative for convening the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones. The politician arrived in Berlin today for an official visit. He was invited by GDR Premier Willi Stoph.

The GDR premier explained to the guest the comprehensive peace program of the Warsaw Pact states and said that the initiative again documents the GDR's support for a world without nuclear weapons or force.

The Tanzanian politician outlined the efforts of his country and the other frontline states in southern Africa in defense of their national independence and sovereignty, in view of the continued policy of destabilization by the apartheid regime.

The two politicians underlined the changes in international developments arising from the results of the Washington summit meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan, which have led to further improvements in the climate in Europe and the world. The introduction of nuclear disarmament which began with the Soviet-U.S. intermediate-range missile agreement opens up a real opportunity to embark on the path to a world without nuclear weapons. Further steps must now follow in order to make the process of disarmament and detente permanent and irreversible.

Stoph and Warioba praised the good state of friendly relations between the GDR and Tanzania. The level of cooperation reached is an expression of many years of alliance and agreement on basic questions of the struggle for peace, security, and social progress.

Prime Minister Joseph Sinde Warioba expressed high regard for the support given by the GDR for training and further qualification of Tanzanian cadres, as a contribution to the strengthening of Tanzania's independence. This applies above all to the spheres of medicine, education, planning, journalism, and sports.

NATO's 'Modernization' Really 'Rearmament'

AU1105095788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 May 88 p 2

[G.P. commentary: "The Modernization Trick"]

[Text] Opinion researchers in capitalist countries have discovered that the concept of "rearmament" arouses too many "negative emotions." The fact that in 1983 NATO pushed through the deployment of nuclear first-strike weapons on our continent on account of the alleged necessity of "rearmament" has a lasting effect, especially on the West European public. A comparable feint is being staged at the moment, the only difference being that the concept of "rearmament" is being replaced by the less discredited word "modernization." Modernization—this sounds innocuous, and neutral. For who wants to be regarded as out of date?

Certainly not the NATO leadership. The only subject of the latest meeting of the Nuclear Planning Group of the alliance in Brussels was when and how new nuclear weapons with greater accuracy and penetration are to be included in the arsenals in the course of "modernization." Basically, it was reported, the course has been set for another wave of arms buildup. Only "a deployment decision on the new nuclear weapons which are already being developed (!)" is still necessary. The main point is to replace the Lance missiles deployed in the FRG, which allegedly will become fit for the scrap heap by 1995, with other nuclear weapons. According to SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, the Bonn emissary had "to signal in Brussels that the FRG will be ready for deployment if need be."

Obviously, it is planned to confront the peoples of Western Europe, who press for further concrete disarmament steps after the treaty on the elimination of nuclear intermediate-range missiles, with faits accomplis. Therefore, NATO circles try to give the impression that the alliance is sitting on a heap of weapons that are fit for scrap, and that "modernization" is indispensable. But nobody for whom peace and disarmament are important can be indifferent to such a course of events. It is absurd to bring weapons in by the back door which have been pushed out by the front door.

Now it is important to speedily implement the treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles and not to thwart it by a continued arms race or so-called compensatory armament. The GDR and its allies advocate this, and everybody in Europe who regards peace and security as serious is actively in favor of it.

Honecker Congratulates Mitterrand on Reelection

AU1105100388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 May 88 p 1

[ND report: "Congratulations From Erich Honecker to Francois Mitterrand; Telegram on Re-election as French President"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has addressed the following congratulatory telegram to Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic:

I convey to you most cordial greetings and congratulations on your re-election as president of the French Republic. I add my best wishes for your further successful activities for the benefit of the French people.

I am filled with satisfaction at the fact that relations between the GDR and the French Republic are developing in a stable and dynamic way, on the basis of mutual respect and trust. The recent talks with you, which I recall with pleasure, confirm my conviction that our political dialogue and mutually advantageous cooperation will be further deepened for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of securing peace.

Erich Honecker,

General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

USSR Sends Anniversary Greetings

LD0705141988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 7 May 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers have sent a congratulatory telegram to Erich Honecker and Willi Stoph, the leaders of the German Democratic Republic, on the occasion of the 43d anniversary of the liberation of the German people from fascism.

Our countries, the telegram says, are highly important partners in terms of the extent of our economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other ties. The telegram expresses the fraternal feelings of the Soviet people for the communists and all people of the GDR.

Statistics on Consumer Cooperatives Published

AU1105082588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 May 88 p 4

[Boxed-in table of statistics, entitled "Facts and Figures," on the GDR Consumer Cooperatives Association, which held its 10th meeting in Dresden on 9 May]

[Text] The consumer cooperatives represent the interests of two-thirds of all GDR households.

—Some 191,000 elected voluntary functionaries work in 15,000 sales committees, 1,800 advisory councils, 213 cooperative councils, and 213 auditing commissions;

—A total of 360 sales halls and 170 shopping centers have been built in rural areas since the Eighth SED Congress;

—Production in centrally-administered consumer enterprises has increased threefold since 1970;

—The quantity of fruit and vegetables purchased by small producers has risen from 6,700 to 30,000 tonnes since 1970;

—The producer cooperatives' maintenance and mechanization enterprises carry out services worth M100 million every year;

—The GDR Consumer Cooperatives Association is a member of the International Cooperatives Alliance, which numbers over 5 million members;

—A total of 1,700 cadres from young, independent states were trained at the International Cooperative School in Dresden.

CC Issues Communique on Upcoming Conference

LD1005200788 Budapest MTI in English 1841 GMT 10 May 88

["Communique on the HSWP Central Committee Session (Full Text)"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 10 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held a session on May 10, 1988, under the chairmanship of Janos Kadar. Present at the session were the members of the Central Committee, the members of the Central Control Committee, the department heads of the Central Committee, the first secretaries of the county and the county-right party committees, and the secretaries of the Budapest Party Committee.

The Central Committee paid tribute to Karoly Herceg, member of the Central Committee who died recently.

I. The Central Committee discussed and approved the report of the Political Committee, submitted by Janos Berecz and Janos Lukacs, on the preparatory work for the national conference of the HSWP.

The Central Committee stated that preparations for the national party conference are progressing well, in accordance with its resolution approved at the March, 1988 session. The published draft policy statement was discussed by the party basic organizations and the party committees, and the leading bodies of the requested organizations and institutions. They forwarded their observations and proposals to the Central Committee. The remarks made at the responsible and open debate well serve the preparations for the party conference.

The Central Committee, utilizing the experience of the debate, approved the draft policy statement to be submitted to the national party conference. The Central Committee and the Central Control committee consider it necessary to renew the leading bodies of the party. In the interest of promoting this, it proposed that the national conference of the party re-elect the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee.

The Central Committee discussed the further tasks in the preparations, and decided it shall propose the following for the agenda of the national party conference to meet on May 20, 1988.

1. Standpoint on the tasks of the party, the development of the political system of institutions. Presented by Janos Kadar.

2. Personal changes. Presented by the president of the Nominating Committee.

II. The Central Committee discussed and approved the proposal of the Political Committee, submitted by Miklos Nemeth, on the guidelines for the Partnership Law.

The foundation of our socialist economy is state and cooperative property. The most important aim is the more efficient operation, and enrichment of these. In the long historical stage of building a socialist society, alongside th social ownership of the fundamental means of production, the various joint-ownership forms and the operation of private ventures within the appropriate frameworks have an important role.

It is the interest of our society that varied combinations of entrepreneurial forms develop in the economy.

The framing of the new partnership law has to promote the creation of conditions for the freer flow of capital, the setting up of joint-ownership partner ventures, and the inclusion of foreign working capital. The new law should expand the investment opportunities for the savings of the population in a way that also serves economy development and community aims.

The Central Committee acknowledged, that the government will submit the draft of the Partnership Law to the autumn session of the National Assembly.

Berecz on CC Session

LD1005201888 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] The MSZMP Central Committee held a session today, and recommended the following agenda to the national party conference:

1. Stance on the party's tasks and on the development of the system of political institutions. To be presented by Janos Kadar.

2. Personnel recommendations. To be presented by the chairman of the nominating committee.

In our studio, Janos Elek's questions on the Central Committee session will be answered.

[Begin recording] [Elek] I welcome in the studio Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo secretary of the Central Committee. He has just arrived from the Central Committee session. My first question is: What did the Central Committee do today? However, before you answer, let me add something. Next week the party conference will be convened. We know that the draft standpoint of the conference has seen rather stormy and sharp debates throughout the country, in writing and in speech, in sessions and in meetings. Bearing all this in mind, what will the Central Committee present to the party conference?

[Berecz] This is a complex package of questions. The Central Committee, on the instruction of the Politburo, heard a report presented by Comrade Janos Lukacs on organizational preparations. The organizational preparations are proceeding in order. The delegates have been elected. The delegates are now awaiting the central

committee's draft standpoint so that they can directly prepare for the debate. And the Central Committee has approved the recommendations—which will have to be submitted to the conference—regarding the composition of the presidium, the drafting committee, the nominating committee, the Returning Committee, and so forth. Previously this was submitted by the Politburo directly to the congress or the conference.

Beyond this, the main, or more important and fundamental question was concerned with the draft standpoint, which was debated by the party membership, but as there were quite a lot of non-party members in the organizations asked to comment, and thanks to NEPSZABADSAG we covered the country widely in 965,000 copies, so non-party members could also voice their opinions to a significant extent—so the Central Committee appraised the debate of the draft standpoint and gave its approval to modifications we should make when submitting to the party conference. [sentence as heard] Beyond this there was a standpoint of principle regarding the new company law.

[Elek] I would like to ask you, in connection with the draft standpoint, to tell us how such a debate takes place. What I am thinking of is that several thousand, perhaps tens of thousands of opinions have been gathered. How does the Central Committee transform this into a new text? Has it changed much of the text, and how does this work take place?

[Berecz] By 28 April we had received all significant contributions, statements, remarks. There were indeed several thousand opinions, but the concrete recommendations only amounted to several hundred, as several thousand opinions converged on some questions, so there is something common in this country as well, not just differing opinions. On the 28th, 29th and 30th, several working groups worked under my leadership in order to take into account all suggestions regarding the draft standpoint, to evaluate whether we should recommend their approval; or why we are not recommending that they be incorporated; or why they are such that they do not need to be incorporated in the draft standpoint at this point, but must certainly be dealt with as a task in a later work program.

[Elek] What was the principle? After all, there was debate about the question of whether the party conference should deal with the rather long and tough list of problems, or concentrate on the few most important questions. How did you make your selection?

[Berecz] We made our selection starting from the premise, or on the basis of, which ones had a bearing on the main questions.

[Elek] And what are these?

[Berecz] We were of the opinion that in building our new society, a turning-point must be achieved. The turning point must be manifested in an active, and in some aspects, radical reform process, embracing all areas of our society. We tried to take into account all those which had a bearing in this direction; questions of detail, or which differed from this we tried to group into separate categories for incorporation into a later work program.

But a decision had to be made here on a major question: Should there be a thorough evaluation of the situation, starting with 1968, as some have suggested, or 1972, as others have suggested; or should we only take into account the processes that can be detected as starting with the 13th congress, and issue a program for action until the 14th congress? So this is where we made our decision.

[Elek] And how did you decide?

[Berecz] We suggested the following to the Central Committee, and this was also in my speech: We are not able to undertake the giving of a scientific and thourough analysis of every question from, let's say, 1968 or 1972. But what we can do is to examine what we can do on the basis of our present experiences between now and 1990, the next congress, and to launch now a longer process of study on a few fundamental questions.

The draft standpoint has therefore been amended; we recommended that after the party conference the Central Committee should detail a working committee to make a longer-term study of our experiences, by also involving scientists and scientific circles—here we returned to the Academy of Science's message; that it should not await a scientific evaluation from us but help in the scientific analysis, in the identification of the main factors and causes—and then this working committee should examine whether our draft program proclamation adopted in 1975 [as heard] is still valid, and if so, to what extent. It should submit the conclusions of this analysis to the 14th congress. It is my conviction that the party conference will support the suggestion that the Central Committee should send out such a working committee.

The draft has been amended with the point that another working committee should work on the statutes, since it was a general demand that democratic centralism must be reshaped by us, that we must reinterpret them. We must free them from bureaucratic restrictions, and the basic organizations should become the focus of party work. After all, if we want to realize the party's leading role by ideological, political, and movement methods, then yesterday's methods are no longer valid. New ones must be asserted, and this means that every organization has its own role and place. The Central Committee is not the only party in this country, but every organization's [as heard] is the party.

So it is the mission, right and possibility of the party conference to decide on the content of the turning point, the change.

As far as I know, the party conference will also have before it a package of principles relating to a draft bill, that is, the one relating to the Company Law. This was the other topic of today's session of the Central Committee. Now, as far as I know, in the course of preparations of this law, very, very sharp voices were also heard. Some were heard which said that we are selling out on our principles, we are selling off socialism, we are returning to coupon-cutting. What stance did the Central Committee adopt?

[Berecz] We have become used to our principles, and that is not a problem. But we have become used to a few often proclaimed principles to such an extent that by now they have turned into dogmas, in our hands, in our outlooks, and these...

[Elek interrupts] And, I think, in our practices.

[Berecz] Well, that is the main problem, in practice too. And these bind us. One such principle which has become a dogma is that with nationalization we are creating a form of social ownership which is the most developed, which operates the best, and with this we create the harmony of forces of production and means of production.

[Elek] I believe you are thinking of the postwar period, that is to say, the period of 40 years ago, but you were using the present tense: We are creating with nationalization—I assume this refers to that period.

[Berecz] To that period, naturally. Now we have at our disposal the experience of 40 years from the point of view that social ownership really is the most developed form if it is operated well, and if it operates well. Our form of social ownership, by virtue of the fact that it appeared in very fixed forms, that is to say explicitly as state property, in a state-directed and directive controlled manner, for this reason did not function as well as all that, not in the most effective way. That was how it transpired that the lossmaking plants lived off the fact that another section of society functioned effectively.

[Elek] And it kept them.

[Berecz] It kept them, it kept them, and what is more they were kept [word indistinct]. This can no longer be tolerated. For this reason it is necessary to ensure a movement in social ownership in which the important thing is not its state-owned form, but that it can be this kind of company, it can be one that takes part in a joint-stock company, or in some kind of association; in other words, that it should find the most effective form possible. The essential thing is not the form, but that it remains state-owned, social property, and that it is effective.

Now, apart from this, there is still private property in our society. One kind of decision could be that we appropriate this. With that we would be going back again to the ancient scale of initiatives, and we would not be using it in the interest of the resurgence. Another kind of decision could be that we keep squeezing it until there is wasteful consumption. But we must not make wasteful use of what we have of value; even if it is private initiative, we have to involve it, as for example an agricultural cooperative. In an agricultural cooperative there is community work and there are household plots. Household plots are socialist because a thousand threads connect them to this cooperative community. Also in an all-societal relation we must be able to imagine and put into practice that many individual initiatives should be connected by a thousand threads to the big state-owned, or smaller state-owned properties; what is more, if possible, so should the involvement of foreign operating capital. Naturally, this clashes with a good number of our former views. The clash would be right if we were to say that we have finished building socialism. But what we say is that this is now a continuation of the building of socialism, which is a long historical phase, and is a transitional society. We bring along the old; we build the new, too. We want to transform the old in such a way that it should be assimilated with the new, so that the individual, a smaller group or a large community also finds the fulfillment and the assertion of their own interests.

[Elek] So, in the end, it is a question of the faster, better, more effective increase of the national property. I think this question will be raised in the future at such times as these, with debates, since the draft law will be set before Parliament in the autumn, as far as I know...

[Berecz interrupts] Before Parliament.

[Elek] On that question...

[Berecz interrupts] It is absulutely certain that there will be major debates about it, but I consider individual property also as national property if it works also for the good of the community, and not only for the individual.

[Elek] One last question in connection with today's Central Committee session: Was there any discussion about the personnel changes which, without doubt, are part of the necessary and now unavoidable changes?

[Berecz] In recent times it has been said on several occasions that the Party conference will have to create the personnel conditions needed for the resurgence. It is not easy to decide about the question of what the creation of the personnel conditions can mean. I know that if we were to name names, then straight away there would be animation in the room or in the country, whether it is x, y, or z. A lot was said about responsibility, also about the fact that there can be no question of looking for scapegoats.

But the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee as a body took the decision to make possible at the party conference the personnel issues, or rather corporate renewal, renewal of the leadership. Therefore, I will even use a synopsis, in order to be precise: The Central Committee and the Central Control Committee consider necessary the reneal of the party's leading bodies. With the aim of promoting this, they propose that the party's national conference should reelect the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee. With this they have created a wide scope and possibility for resolving the personnel issues, for the corporate renewal.

[Elek] Do I understand correctly that what this means is that the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee may be renewed in their entirety, or rather, that it will depend on the party conference decision how far they will be renewed, and then a new Central Committee will elect the leading bodies, including the Politburo as well, in such a case?

[Berecz] That is precisely it, it will reelect both bodies. As to what proportion, how many, who out of the former members—that will be decided on the personnel basis and not on that of proportions. Therefore, the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee will essentially be reborn.

[Elek] Janos Berecz, thank you very much for the interview. [end recording]

Berecz on Party Conference

LD1005212588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 10 May 88

[Interview with MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz by correspondent Attila Balint in Budapest on 10 May]

[Text] [Balint] The preparations for the national party conference are well under way, while the economy is banging increasingly on the door, forcing the creation of the law on economic partnerships. These were the two topics of the Central Committee session. Let us begin with the preparations for the party conference, because the Central Committee met today after quite a lively debate—which was not free of extreme views either.

[Berecz] The Central Committee recommends a two-point agenda to the national party conference: one is a stance on the party's tasks, on the development of the system of political instituitons, and the second point is on personnel questions.

Concerning the first point, how the draft propsoals to be sent to the elected delegates will look is extremely important. About one-third of the party membership expressed opinions on them; in the county and metropolitan party committees and the Budapest party committee a total of 365 people spoke.

So there was a huge number of suggestions at our disposal. We had to classify them on the lines of, first, those which are indispensable as regards the draft proposals; those which must be taken into account but belong to a document such as a work plan and which must be dealt with later; and those for which we have no strength at present or which are not necessary or do not need to be implemented. From this point of view the Central Committee approved our recommendations and in my view the draft proposals are improved. We shall get them to the delegates by the 16th.

[Balint] There was also a debate about which period the party conference should examine.

[Berecz] The Central Committee recommendation states that we should now take into account the experiences of the period following the 13th Congress, which cannot of course be separated from a 10-15 year period and its most important experiences. And we should designate tasks which, although in content refer to a longer period, can be carried out in the period between now and the 14th Congress. At the same time we recommend to the party conference that the Central Committee, which it elects should assign a working committee which will carry out a longer-term analysis of these 1015 years with scientific thoroughness. In this we are telling to some extent the Academy of Sciences that it should not order from us a scientific analysis of the past 10-15 years. Our mission, our duty, is to carry out a political analysis, and science should contribute to a more thorough analysis of that period. They should examine how the proclaimed party program approved in 1975 stands up, and with what recommendations we can stand before the 14th congress with a longer-term analysis and a longer-term program.

[Balint] Concerning personnel matters and questions of responsibility, I could find many different opinions in the debates.

[Berecz] It has been mentioned several times recently that the party conference will now have to make important decisions on personnel. In the presentation speeches at the Central Committee session we dealt with the fact that in the corporate leadership we have different degrees of responsibility in accordance with our function and place of work. One thing we do reject, however, is the search for scapegoats. It is possible to sacrifice two or three people, to name them as the culprits, but that would not be right because responsibility is wider than this.

However, the Central Committee has decided that the leading bodies of the party must be renewed. To promote this, the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee recommend to the party's national conference that it should reelect these two bodies.

[Balint] This, of course, also means that the Central Committee executive organs, i.e. the Politburo and the Secretariat, will also be reelected.

[Berecz] Naturally. The present Politburo and the present Secretariat are organs elected by the present Central Committee. If the party conference opts for reelection—for complete reelection, which is not likely—even then the Politburo and the Secretariat would have to be reelected, because these are new organs and new executive organs are needed.

[Balint] So the party conference appoints to the Central Committee those whom it considers fit.

[Berecz] Naturally. It will choose who should remain and who should be new, it will choose in which direction it should renew, rejuvenate, to assert the most important tasks.

[Balint] Let us talk also about the second topic, about the preparations for the law on economic associations, about the discussion of the directives, if for no other reason than that, if I remember correctly, there was an allusion to this in the program for resurgence, which said that the Hungarian economy needs such a law. Now, a few days ago we heard at the "NEPSZABADSAG" forum the expression joint-stock socialism. Have you come across this, too?

[Berecz] Well, many kinds of epithet are applied to socialism; I still remember refrigerator socialism, and then Gulyas communism; now joint-stock socialism is the keynote. What is more, some said we should set ourselves the attainment of working socialism; and then there was a period when people spoke about developed socialism; what is more, I even know the expression mature socialism. We should make socilaims without epithets. That is what we strive for. One of the key issues of this is that the resources at our disposal, which appear in the form of property or other assets, in the form of property, socialist, state-owned, cooperative property, or as private property, or in the form of property that can be drawn in from abroad, should operate in the best possible way.

The essence of this company law—which will come before Parliament in the fall, so we shall be able to speak a lot about it before then, I could not exhaust the topic now—is that these many kinds of assets, which are at our disposal in the form of property, should not limp and groan along, but should operate in such a way as to produce assets, and that the production of assets should be to the good of this nation, whether it is a question of community property or of individual (?ownership).

[Balint] The lead which the economy has enforced at all events makes a change necessary in ideology as well. In other words, when we have to explain what socialist means of ownership in fact are like, you and I both have to say something different from what we have said up till now.

[Berecz] I don't have to say something completely different. What I say first and foremost is that we do not have to put an ideological stamp onto every concrete measure. Ideology has to deal with and define the main processes which go in the direction of socialism. In this there can be aberrations, and what is more there can be temporary phenomena, too. Temporary could of course mean even a few decades, because nowadays we think in such a historical perspective; we do not say that we shall build socialism by 1995. We think in such a historical perspective that we can also tolerate a temporary phase. The essential thing is that it should be for the good of this people, while at the same time we strengthen the values of socialism. In this case, as an ideologist I do not struggle with qualms of conscience.

Leaders Greet CSSR on National Day

LD1005131888 Budapest MTI in English 1804 GMT 8 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 8 (MTI)—On the occasion of the 43rd anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia, Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council, and Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, cabled their good wishes to Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Gustav Husak, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and Lubomir Strougal, chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Patriotic People's Front Meets on Hungarians

LD1005225688 Budapest MTI in English 1822 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 10 (MTI)—The Budapest Committee of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front held a special enlarged session Tuesday in Budapest to discuss the state of the Hungarian minority living in Romania. It was said that the People's front has participated in the actions aimed at assisting those who wish to settle in Hungary, as any part of the world because they belong to the Hungarian minority and use the Hungarian language. However, providing assistance to persons arriving in Hungary, helping them get work and accommodation does not solve the problems of the Hungarians in Romania. Everyone has a basic right to the mother country, to be able to practice their full civic and minority rights there - it was stressed at the session.

Leaders, Solidarity Members Comment on Strikes

Walesa Cited on Strikers' Demands

PM0505145888 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 1-2 May 88 p 11

[Interview by telephone with Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in Warsaw by Andrea Tarquini in Rome on 30 April]

[Text] Rome—"What are we asking of General Jaruzelski? That we work together for economic reform, for political and social pluralism—in short, to jointly save the nation from bankruptcy and decline." "Gorbachev? The Poles believe that he really does want to reform that system. This is why we Solidarity people are determined to do our utmost not to cause him problems." Lech Walesa sounded excited I spoke with him by telephone on the eve of May Day, which promised to be a day of tension and violence but which instead produced the first signs of a thaw.

[Tarquini] Mr Walesa, how do you assess the present situation in Poland?

[Walesa] The situation really is very difficult. It has deteriorated over the past 7 years since the military coup. We have wasted all this time without establishing a dialogue or the reforms essential for salvaging the nation's economy. Following the 13 December military coup the government promised to resolve the economic and political crisis and to introduce reforms. After 8 years, however, we are still in the same situation of economic crisis.

The same government that introduced martial law still leads the country now, denying it the pluralism without which the economic crisis remains insoluble. This is why I consider the situation worse. The government believes it can govern Poland with the old methods and fails to understand the spirit of the time. That is, it does not realize that in post-industrial Europe only social, economic, and political pluralism can create a climate of national unity, of cooperation between government and society to achieve reforms. Without pluralism, the only remaining method of struggle is the strike and when you are on strike you are not producing the goods we all need, you harm the national economy. In other words, the political situation forces us to use methods that harm the economy and society.

[Tarquini] Is there a possibility of a compromise with the government?

[Walesa] There is no alternative. We must carry out the reforms together, reform the Polish economy together, and advance together toward pluralism. It is shameful that in the past 40 years Poland has become the world's beggar. Our debt and our economic and political crisis harm other European countries too. So we must carry out these reforms. Not only and not so much because Gorbachev in Moscow or we in Poland consider the reforms a political necessity. The reforms are a necessity.

[Tarquini] Do you not believe that social conflict in Poland could rekindle social and political tensions throughout the socialist camp and prompt harsh responses in Moscow too? In other words, are you not afraid that Solidarity's return to the scene could ultimately harm Gorbachev's restructuring policy?

[Walesa] We believe that our struggle for economic reforms and pluralism is necessary for our country's salvation, but at the same time we do not want to obstruct Gorbachev's major reforms because we must expect and hope that Gorbachev is in earnest. It seems that Gorbachev really does want to reform the system and we do not want to hinder him by creating tensions. In the present political situation, however, we must struggle because this is the only way to set our country on the road to reforms. Anything could happen, and it does not depend entirely on us. We do not want to be forced to strike; we do not want a confrontation with the government at all costs. We want to work, but our work cannot always be destroyed and wasted by a bureaucratic and inefficient centralized system.

[Tarquini] What is your opinion of Gorbachev?

[Walesa] Gorbachev cannot yet be judged on the basis of his policy's specific results: They are not yet apparent and his reforms will take longer. Judging from Gorbachev's words and deeds, he seems—to the Polish public, too— to be a leader who feels the need for reforms. This is why for the first time striking workers in Poland are not making directly political demands, because that could create tensions and curb the major reforms that this system needs. People are striking for economic demands because this is necessary, because life is really difficult following the price increases in Poland. However, these long-term economic changes must prompt or facilitate more structural— and therefore political— changes. This is not discussed out loud to avoid hindering Gorbachev's reforms. There is a need for reforms throughout the eastern bloc. I do not know whether or not we will succeed in reforming this system in our countries, but we do not want to create obstacles to Gorbachev's reforms.

[Tarquini] What is the church's position in the present situation in Poland?

[Walesa] It is impossible to understand Poland without the church but at the same time it must be realized that the church has a universal dimension. So it is wrong to believe that the church must speak out immediately in every crisis situation. The church is great and universal and it is perhaps partly because of this that it does not become directly involved in every individual or specific situation. Solidarity, this movement, and the thrust for

reforms are a more particular phenomenon, are necessary at this moment in history. The church is more eternal. If people love the church they must remember that if the church does not achieve a particular aim in this century it will do so in the next; the church can afford to wait. For us citizens of Poland today it is a different matter: People do not live that long, which is why they demand everything at once in a crisis situation. While we are struggling for our demands, however, we must remember the patient wisdom of the church, from which we should learn, learn, and learn again.

[Tarquini] What do you think of the letter sent to Pope Wojtyla by workers in Krakow?

[Walesa] What should I think? I would have been surprised if they had not sent it to him. Everyone in Poland, including nonbelievers, is proud that the present pope is a Pole. Therefore people in this country, and especially in Krakow, are unlikely not to recall with special kindness the man in Rome who now leads the Church.

Interviewed by Berlin Newspaper

DW091000 Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 7 May 88 p 1

[Interview with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Klaus Bachmann at the Gdansk Lenin shipyard on 5 May 1988]

[Text] TAZ [TAGESZWITUNG] : The well-known Polish opposition member Jacek Kuron warned recently that society could give vent to its frustrations prematurely, and the outbreak could come to nothing. Now the outbreak has come. Do you think is it premature?

Walesa: Yes, it is premature. The young people at the Gdansk shipyard surprised everybody, including me. I thought it would break out somewhere else, not here at the Lenin shipyard, because at the Lenin shipyard everything was totally uprooted. It is the shipyard that was most harmed in every respect—in terms of finances and personnel. Young people here have united in a very short time and have staged something much faster than at older enterprises, where they were less affected. Now our job is to see whether we can take advantage of that. The fact that the director has stated that he would close down the shipyard is a big success for these young people.

TAZ: You keep talking about "these young people." Does that mean that you do not identify yourself with them anymore?

Walesa: I took part in 1970 and 1980, and now again. I am old in the sense that I have gone through it all before. I am a member of the leadership group for the third time, although I am not a strike leader. But I am participating. I am feeling a bit old because I am sick—but only physically, not psychologically.

TAZ: The strike committee in Nowa Huta did not request the legalization of Solidarity on the assumption that such a request would be unacceptable to management and the government. Here, however, people immediately demanded legalization of Solidarity. Is that a realistic request?

Walesa: I think it is normal, because this is the cradle of Solidarity, so to speak. Maybe it is not a realistic demand. They will try to threaten and intimidate us. The worst thing that could happen to us is for them to carry us out. But someday we would come back. And then they would again have slaves instead of workers.

TAZ: Yesterday your advisor, Alexander Hall, said that now that the movement existed—if prematurely—it would have to be given a meaning. In your view, what would it have to be?

Walesa: Meaning is being created by the dock workers and the reality in which we live. I am waiting to see how things will develop and I will help them.

TAZ: In Nowa Huta there are allegedly differences between the strike committee and the workers. The strike committee gives precedence to political requests, whereas the workers in particular want wage increases.

Do you think that the strike committee would forego political recognition in favor of the workers' wage demands?

Walesa: Certainly. There is psychological pressure. Many people do not believe that the government would accept the requested pluralism, so they would rather take what the government is ready to give. If workers here convince us they believe that or outvote us democratically, we will carry out their will. That is what we are there for. We have to be honest here. If that is what the people here want, we have to act on it. We may not agree with it personally, but we cannot manipulate these people.

TAZ: When the strike broke out in the repair yard yesterday, a worker told us that basically the representatives of the official trade unions had caused the labor dispute. They had made the first demands, which then led to the strike, he said. Are the official trade unions becoming independent now?

Walesa: I would not say that they are becoming independent. They are not for pluralism, and they are not for democracy. For the time being, they cannot be partners. If they were for pluralism, we would also be for pluralism of trade unions—to their benefit. The more trade unions there are—of course not too many—the better. They would act as checks on each other, and workers could choose freely. If the official trade unions were to become democratic, we would advocate strengthening them. But now they are insincere and undemocratic. And that is why they are not partners for us.

Geremek Cited on Risks of Violence

PM0605082688 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 30 Apr 88 p 13

[Interview with Polish Solidarity adviser Bronislaw Geremek by Andrea Tarquini; date, place not given]

[Text] Rome—[Passage omitted] [Tarquini] What are Solidarity's watchwords for tomorrow—a May Day that promises to be weighed down by social tensions?

[Geremek] All I can tell you is that the important thing is the very principle of Solidarity's right to exist. It is a matter of imparting a specific significance to Solidarity with the striking workers, who are now threatened with violence and who will perhaps suffer it tomorrow. I hope there will be no bloodshed because if it does happen it would be a suicidal decision on Jaruzelski's part.

[Tarquini] What is the Soviet attitude toward the latest Polish crisis?

[Geremek] I believe this situation is rather embarrassing for Gorbachev's policy—not the strikes but the risk of a repressive option and the absence of a consistent policy. The social tension and the possibility of an explosion of dissatisfaction deal a heavy blow to Gorbachev's policy, especially as the summit with Reagan and the CPSU Conference draw nearer. The strikes in the major industrial centers are only a result of the government's economic policy and even if the government placates the workers with pay rises, without changing its economic policy, the country's socioeconomic situation will basically remain the same as before the strikes, with all its threats to international stability. The country has been waiting too long for a real policy of change. This government has proved incapable of implementing it.

[Tarquini] Do you fear an authoritarian regression on the government's part? If the government opts for repression, will it be a tactical and short-term repression or a change of course? In this connection what is the significance of the party document calling for "radical measures" against the economic crisis?

[Geremek] Nobody knows what is meant by the "radical measures against the economic crisis" because the real obstacle to economic reform are not the workers but the vast parasitical political apparatus blocking the reform, which conflicts with its interests and privileges. So it remains to be seen against whom these exceptional measures are directed. Against the country's dominant bureaucracy or against the workers? If the measures are against the workers they will block any reform and any chance of accord between government and society. If they use force anything is possible. I do not want to make prophecies, but I am sure that the people's response to violence could be so violent as to jeopardize the government itself and the country's stability. Or the repression could produce immediate results in terms of a Brezhnev-style normalization, but such a normalization would not last long. In this latter case the phase subsequent to crisis and the protests would be much longer and would involve violence on both sides. There would be a response to the violence, using the government's own violent methods. The government's use of violence would be the starting point for any future protest. People would respond to violence with violence. Solidarity has always been a nonviolent movement, but how long can the principle of nonviolence withstand the accumulation of incomprehension and hatred? Let us hope that the government is aware of these lethal risks and that it reasons not only in terms of hours and days but in terms of months and years—for the country's sake.

Solidarity's Michnik Views Strikes

PM0605090088 Paris LIBERATION in French 2 May 88 pp 20-21

[Interview with Polish Solidarity adviser Adam Michnik by Pierre Vodnik— date and place not given]

[Text] LIBERATION: Solidarity has given its support to the Nowa Huta strikers. Why does the trade union not call a general strike?

Adam Michnik: Because we feel responsible for this country. Solidarity uses strikes as a last resort, and as long as there is a chance of negotiating, we must wait. This does not rule out the possibility of there being more spontaneous strikes in the near future. In my view, even if the authorities succeed in stifling the Nowa Huta protest, other strikes will break out in 1 or 2 months' time.

LIBERATION: Why do the Solidarity experts think that a revolt in Poland would be a serious political mistake at the present time?

Adam Michnik: They think this because of what is happening in the USSR. The important thing for us is not to know whether or not Gorbachev will succeed, or whether or not he is sincere. The important thing is the dynamics of the social changes in the USSR. The present conflict or, to simplify things, the conflict between the advocates of reform and the conservatives, which is taking place in Moscow, is the most important event in the socialist world since Lenin's death.

This does not mean that, by adopting an extremely moderate attitude, the Solidarity leadership is trying to save Gorbachev at any cost. But it would be ridiculous for events in the USSR to have no influence on our attitude. You do not stage a revolution when there is a chance of things changing.

LIBERATION: Can the Nowa Huta worker understand that he ought not to demand a wage increase of 20,000 zlotys because it might weaken Gorbachev?

Adam Michnik: No. But he will understand that politics is the art of choosing the right moment. From this viewpoint, this is not really a bad time: At the end of May Reagan will visit Moscow, and then the CPSU conference will be held in June. But everything depends on the scale of the events in Poland. Political movements often precipitate reforms, and sometimes they curb them.

I would like to make myself clear. The Solidarity leadership is not busy saving Gorbachev. But Solidarity must take into account what is happening in the rest of the world. The reforms we want affect the whole bloc. A large-scale confrontation in Poland would not solve anything. And we must hope that, if the current changes in the USSR are continued, there is a real chance of totally new relations being established in Eastern Europe.

LIBERATION: How do you assess the present situation?

Adam Michnik: This is the start of a revolt, the biggest wave of discontent since the big strikes of August 1980. It is also a reply to all those who thought that Solidarity no longer existed in the enterprises. Moreover, it is not a surprise to us. Solidarity has survived 7 lean years (since the establishment of martial law on 13 December 1981), and it cannot now vanish.

These strikes are essentially economic, but their political and moral aspect proves that the workers are also demanding structural changes, in other words reforms. The strikes are being directed by Solidarity members. But the trade union leadership did not call them.

LIBERATION: Could Solidarity end the strikes?

Adam Michnik: An agreement at national level could stop them. Moreover, I think that these strikes are the last signal to the government team. The second last signal was the negative results of the national referendum on the reforms held on 29 November.

In Poland, all the reforms are coming too late. If, 10 years ago, Gierek had done what Jaruzelski is now proposing, and which no longer satisfies anybody, we would not be in this state. Gorbachev is now repeating that economic reforms are impossible without fundamental political changes. I do not understand why the Polish leaders have not yet realized that.

I fear their reactions. They usually react with what I call the "police reflex." They arrest all the people with whom they ought to have discussions—Jacke Kuron for instance—who are the very symbol of dialogue.

However, time is running out in Poland. This is what the authorities should do immediately: Start negotiations with people who really represent society, primarily with Solidarity—negotiations on a pact to combat the crisis, which the trade union has proposed, and on political reform.

LIBERATION: Do you mean that General Jaruzelski ought to telephone Walesa?

Adam Michnik: That would be a symbolic gesture which he ought to have made immediately after Gorbachev telephoned Sakharov. The fact that he has still not done it shows his lack of political imagination. The Jaruzelski team's main objective has not changed since 13 December: It is to liquidate Solidarity.

LIBERATION: Is a repetition of August 1980 possible?

Adam Michnik: History never repeats itself, but this is the end of the Jaruzelski team, the end of the policy pursued since 13 December. Unless Jaruzelski changes his whole policy immediately, he is finished.

LIBERATION: The reforms proposed by the general—liberalization of the market, a new electoral law, the creation of independent clubs—are producing an enthusiastic reaction among Western experts. Why do the Poles not want them?

Adam Michnik: The proposed economic reform adopts many elements of Solidarity's program. However, one important element is missing: society's identity. The Poles will not support any reform which does not guarantee their identity. And Solidarity, the right to Solidarity, is their identity. Unless the reform is accompanied by political changes, people will continue to see just one change: price increases.

Nowa Huta Director on Employee Welfare

AU0905131588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 May 88 p 3

[PAP interview with Eugeniusz Pustowka, chief director of the Lenin Steelworks in Nowa Huta: ""I Am Hoping That Work Will Be Resumed Rapidly and That We Will Complete Outstanding Work With a Joint Effort"" — date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [PAP] At the general meeting of work force delegates, which took place as strikes were in progress in some departments and workshops, those attending it highly appraised the combine's performance last year and were almost unanimous in their estimation of your work as chief director by giving you a vote of acceptance of accounts [absolutorium], a kind of vote of confidence. How can one reconcile these two situations?

[Pustowka] For some time now one can see that significant progress has been made at the Lenin Steelworks in resolving the combine's technical problems and in dealing with people's affairs. In many cases the basis for success has been the Council of Ministers' resolution that was adopted in 1984 at a field session at the Lenin steelworks, which has been supported by constant concern for the future of the combine on the part of the central and voivodship authorities. After a period of years during which the steelworks experienced a loss of investment impetus, investment has recently undergone a significant increase. A whole series of investment projects are being realized. As many as 50 percent of them are connected directly or indirectly with the protection of the environment, which satisfies public expectations and will make it possible to meet Krakow's requirements as a special preservation area in future. Among these investment projects one ought to include the No. 1 bank of large-chamber coke ovens with a facility for the dry quenching of coke, electro-filters for the boilers of five to seven power plants, and the construction of a travelling grate for sintering that will replace the old travelling grate, which dates back to the 1950's. This year will see 100 percent of canals for discharging water cleaned. The steelworks' water circulation system will be closed down. It is enough to say that over the last 10 years the emission of dust has been reduced from more than 100,000 tons annually to 52,000 tons last year. Many of the investment tasks for the future are connected with the program for the restructuring of the combine and reducing material-and energy-intensiveness. The steelworks is not a new plant. The depreciation of machinery and equipment is a very serious matter. It amounts to 87 percent of production capacity. That is why the steelworks allocates enormous amounts for repairs; about 20 percent of the value of production. It is also necessary to modernize the combine so that in terms of quality and quantity output satisfies the increasingly greater requirements and needs of the metal processing industry. It is a widely known fact that the Lenin steelworks will, for example, start producing galvanized automobile body sheets for the new Polish Fiat. The formulation of a program is one thing, but it is important that it also suits needs and expectations. The implementation of the program needs to be intensified.

[PAP] The work force is more concerned about working conditions, wages, and social affairs than about the enterprise's technological problems...

[Pustowka] The demands that have been made during the current protest action have not contained any suggestions concerning social affairs and housing. We have deemed solving the work force's housing problems one of our most important tasks. We have, for example, been coordinating the development of urban construction sites. We have introduced various forms of plant construction: the construction of single family homes, completing buildings for several families by ourselves, and so on. The results can already be seen—for example, apartments for 200 families have already been built during the first quarter at the "Oswiecenie" development. More than 700 will be built this year. This is just part of a great program that ought to solve the combine's housing problem by the year 1995 on the realistic assumption that about 1,000 apartments annually will be completed and available for occupancy. A broad program—in view of the existence of numerous opportunities—makes it possible to organize vacations for the work force and to provide employees and their families with health care at, for example, the Krakow Medical Academy's clinics and our own clinics. Particular attention is devoted to looking after pensioners.

[PAP] How, in view of these very important tasks and responsibilities that the combine has, are the principles of the economic reform being realized?

[Pustowka] We have already been operating in accordance with the principles of then reform since 1982. With a significant reduction in employment levels—one of 20 percent—these principles have made it possible to increase labor efficiency and profits, and undertake many profitable independent initiatives. We have obtained a higher per capita level of labor productivity than at the highest point in the past. The iron and steel industry has limited conditions under which it must operate during the implementation of the second stage of the reform. This is because of the existing but declining central distribution of products, and the existence of official prices for our products (in our case 95 percent of our products are subject to these prices). As progress is made in implementing the second stage of the reform these limitations will be eliminated.

The negative effects of the strike action are disrupting many of the combine's financial and economic conditions and can delay the implementation of the reform program. However, I am hoping that this will not happen, that work will be resumed rapidly, and that we will complete outstanding work with a joint effort.

Academic on Debt, Credits

AU0605142188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 May 88 p 3

[PAP—Statement by "Prof Boguslaw Jasinski, director of the Center for Research into Debt and Development at the Jagiellonian University" in Krakow; date and place not given]

[Text] The basic requirement for having access to the international credit market is national stability. The debt burden and difficulties in obtaining new credits render it impossible to purchase certain raw materials, items of machinery, and technology. Thus, they make it difficult to achieve economic expansion, which impacts on, for example, society's standard of living. These interdependencies are a kind of vicious circle, which we will enter if the strikes do not cease.

I think that what is required in the current situation is resolute consistency on the part of plant managements. One cannot always be a fairy godmother. Of course, this does not mean that certain growing wage problems should not be solved by way of, for example, pay differentials, higher wages for good work, and incentive bonuses, and so on.

Those taking part in strikes must be aware of the responsibility that they bear for their actions; they must be conscious of the fact that their attitudes can have a bearing on the fate of the country and, in a relatively short time, on the standard of living as well.

Comments by Former RFE Official

LD0805101788 Warsaw PAP in English 1920 GMT 8 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 7—The Polish Radio 1st program today aired the first part of a series called "The Guest of the Section" in which it presented the views of the former director of Radio Free Europe's Polish section, Jan Nowak-Jezioranski who currently is a member of the strict leadership of the Polish American Congress and a National Security Council advisor. He presented these views during a closed meeting which took place in the headquarters of Radio Free Europe in Munich.

Beginning his story by describing his activities in Washington Jan Nowak focused above all on discussing American policy towards Poland, stating in part:

"One should recall that since 1956 both parties have a doctrine which at present is called a policy of differentiation and earlier was called in different ways: a policy of gradualism, building bridges and the like. It boils down to differentiating between Eastern Europe and Russia and also between the respective states of Eastern Europe. One should on the one hand support, reward as it were, processes of greater emancipation from Moscow or certain liberalization or democracy. And on the other—to use certain punitive measures, even such as were used against Poland and towards those states which are moving back in the process."

Without beating about the bush the guest of the Polish section termed Ronald Reagan's approach towards Poland as a "carrot and stick" policy. As an example he quoted the sanctions introduced against Poland by the President of the United States.

"In reality the sanctions had marginal importance, with one exception. The blockade of credits. The Polish side is feeling the impact of the credit blockade very painfully. The lifting of sanctions alone or Poland's membership to the International Monetary Fund by no means meant an automatic granting of credits. And to this moment these credits have not been granted to People's Poland. It seemed that the next phase would be making new credits from international financial institutions conditional upon the restoration of some form of trade union pluralism in Poland, greater participation of the social factor in managing the economy and upon economic reform.

"Our point of view (by "our" I mean the Polish American Congress) was that unconditional credits, that is a return to the policy from before 1980 would be the same catastrophe as an unconditional rejection of credits, that this determinant gave us the only leverage through which one could achieve some step forward. Meanwhile, after lifting the sanctions, the Department of State actually has not made any further step ahead," Jan Nowak pointed out.

Military Daily on Western Reporting

AU0905130488 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 7-8 May 88 p 2

[Commentary signed '(Tem.)': " 'Horror' in Poland"]

[Text] Let me quote a headline in the Viennese journal NEUE AZ: "An Orgy of Truncheons by the Polish Police"—or a statement by Klaus Bednorz, former West German correspondent in Warsaw, who said in a radio discussion that "a part of Polish society is starving. Hunger among workers' families is making the workers strike."

Although there is no talk of "concentration camps" inside stadiums yet, and it would be difficult to talk of freezing wasteland, because people in the West do realize at what latitude Poland lies, some of the assessments of Poland carried by Western mass media adhere to old patterns. As a result, "horror" is once again rampant in Poland. All that has to be done is to wait for polar bears to appear, and this is clearly the kind of picture that propaganda centers would like to paint.

Some Western television and radio channels and press media are performing great juggling acts with facts and images so as to make it look as if people in Poland are starved and homeless, and doing nothing except waging strikes in despair, and that the streets are blue with militiamen, who outnumber the civilian population over four to one.

The stereotyped picture is as follows: Society is putting up despairing resistance, the authorities are terrorizing it, and useful advice is being put forth by—well, we know who. The Austrian paper carries a picture of Walesa with a microphone in his hand and the caption: "Lech Walesa says nothing will succeed without free trade unions."

The point is not just to make the reader shiver with fear, but also to provide a proper political context. "Free trade unions," with their old leaders at the helm, of course, are once again considered to be the recipe for Poland's

misfortunes. There is a simple magic formula—bring back what happened in 1981, and the troubles in Poland will miraculously disappear.

Of course, Western society, fed with descriptions like this, may not know that what is meant is the same "trade union" that did much to paralyze the Polish economy when it was still legal and then tried to distrub the process of emerging from the crisis when it was already illegal. Similarly, how is Western society supposed to know that there really is no hunger in Poland, for this is no African desert state to which sacks of buckwheat are sent, but a modern state that is moderately prosperous but struggling with difficulties?

But perhaps the point is to prevent people in the West from knowing too much about Poland. For a propaganda game, often a ruthless and cynical one, is once again being played for high stakes and involving Poland. Anti-Polish affairs, not Polish affairs at all, are being settled at our expense.

'Manipulation' of FRG Press Decried

LD0905154688 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 9 May 88

[By PAP correspondent Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Bonn, May 9—I am not surprised that the bourgeois mass media here, which are of very high opinion about the freedom and genuineness of their own journalist methods, discuss and comment on the recent conflicts in Poland with overemphasis on the reasons of government opponents. I have grown accustomed to the fact that in 10 sentences of this type there is one laconic statement of the government side or none at all.

Manipulation, however, reaches for unfair methods. The yellow BILD ZEITUNG, read by at least 10 millions, used in its issue of May 7th as a fresh document as a photo shot on May 1st showing a street clash near the Stanislaw Kostka Church in Warsaw. The reader is being served this as the latest news although there were no clashes in Poland after May 1st.

GENERAL ANZEIGER of May 7/8 in a report from its Warsaw correspondent writes about "a controversial credibility of government spokesman Jerzy Urban who says that there were no injuries during the police raid of Nowa Huta steel mill, whereas 40 wounded workers are said to be hospitalized in Krakow and its Nowa Huta suburb." The correspondent keeps silent about the statement by provincial surgeon Zdzislaw Wojcik saying that none of the strikers and none of the policemen suffered injuries requiring medical assistance. He also says nothing about a statement of author Anna Bortnowska, close to the Catholic circles, who said that inquiries in Krakow Hospitals had confirmed that there were no injured Nowa Huta strikers in them.

The situation of people still remaining in the Gdansk shipyard is described by the press here in a way suggesting that they were locked up in the yard, cut off from the world with police cordons. No word is said that they are free to leave the yard any minute, that they chose this situation for themselves. Nothing is said that overwhelming majority of the crew has left the yard.

These are examples of manipulation in the FRG press on one day only.

Youth Daily Notes Walesa Support

AU1005082788 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 6-8 May 88 p 3

[Dariusz Szymczycha commentary: "Cataract"]

[Text] Before Lech Walesa went to help the illegal strike at his workplace, he gave an interview to the West German BILD ZEITUNG. The interview appeared in the 30 April issue of that paper. We learn from it that L. Walesa and his large family are prosperous. They have not been affected by the price increases. Why not? The head of the family explains in honest terms:

"One cannot compare us with normal people because many sources help us—the church, the priest, and friends."

Therefore, the Walesa family is better off than the Polish economy, as the former "Solidarity" leader explains:

"The situation today is worse than in 1980. The government wasted every chance 8 years ago. The economic situation is even worse today."

L. Walesa's assessment is not at all light-hearted. Anyone looking back to 1980 and 1981 will remember the state of the Polish economy then. If one considers the quantity of goods in the shops as a yardstick of the present situation, then there has been an obvious improvement since those years. Therefore, Lech Walesa is a poor observer. He probably does not do any shopping either, because all his many friends must help him.

There is only one point on which Walesa is correct in his assessment of the Polish economy. "Our debts are even greater than they were then." However, he forgets how 5 or 6 years ago he himself called on Western governments and banks not to cooperate with the Polish Government and how he thanked the U.S. authorities for their various restrictions on Poland.

He forgets how, thanks to the distortions within his pseudo-trade union, the justified social protest of 1980 turned against the Polish economy and society.

Lech Walesa has not drawn any conclusions from the past. He told the West German journalist that the strikes "must spread, because the economic situation is bad." Does Lech want to heal our economy by means of—strikes?

Besides, the BILD ZEITUNG interviewee is not only an economist. He is also a politician, and involves himself with democracy in Poland. He wants to expand democracy by means of so-called pluralism. And this is his method of democracy: "We will fight anyone who tries to prevent this."

In this interview Lech Walesa hws really shown what he is capable of and what he has learned.

Army Daily Raps Western Strike Reports

LD1005094388 Warsaw PAP in English
0905 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 10—Writing today about reports by Western TV satellite networks on the latest events in Poland, particularly on the course of the strike in the Gdansk shipyard, the Polish Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI says:

"Reports by these TV networks are recorded according to the same pattern. They always present a totalitarian regime and workers perseveringly striking to promote the ideals of freedom. The TV commentators failed to notice that the entire Polish reality is completey different, that thousands of factories work normally, that the society did not support Walesa's call for strike and that the authorities show exceptional moderation in reacting. This is contrary to violent responses by governments to similar situations in the West."

The paper goes on to say that "reports on May Day observances in Poland were even more biassed" and adds that "these reports are so incredible and exaggerated and they so much do not reflect the real course of strikes or previously [as received] May Day observances in Poland that they discredited themselves as the sources of information".

Public Disapproval of Strikes Noted

AU1005135188 [Editorial Report] Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish on 5 and 6-8 May, and Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish on 6 May carry several articles on the public reaction to the recent wave of strikes. The impression created is that most Poles disapprove of the workers' protests.

SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish on 5 May carries on pages 1 and 2 a 1,300-word article signed "MWG" bearing the headline "Normal Work Is What Is Needed Now." The introductory paragraph describes the findings of an opinion poll conducted by the Center for Public Opinion Research and the author concludes "it emerges from the poll that a majority are aware of the negative consequences of the strikes." The greater part of the item consists of statements made to the paper by people who were asked to give their opinion on the strikes. The general tenor of these statements is that the strikes are damaging to the economy and threaten the reform program, and that demands for higher wages are unjustified unless they are based on higher output, which is a key reform principle. The 6-8 May edition of the paper carries a 1,000-word unattributed article headlined "What Young People Think About the Strikes: Common Sense Must Triumph." It also consists of a collection of similar statements made to the paper, by young people on this occasion, criticizing the strikes.

The 6 May edition of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI quotes on page 1, in the "Issues of the Day" column, a series of readers' statements. All the passages quoted, point to the economically damaging effects of strikes and condemn "political manipulation" by opposition activists.

TRYBUNA LUDU: No Recurrence of 1981

LD1005112488 Warsaw PAP in English
1015 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 10—"If we believe some publications of Western press, and especially the programmes of Polish-speaking radio stations, Poland is again the hotbed of unrest, a boiling kettle. The reason for this is a continuing strike of now about 450 workers in the Gdansk shipyard," writes TRYBUNA LUDU in a commentary headlined "Dreams About the Past."

The daily points out that "the managers of the yard were ready to talk about all problems related to wages, working conditions, etc. They look for any opportunity to improve the yard's almost hopeless economic situation, which was aggravated by each day without work. The mediation of church representatives has been ineffective so far. The strikers were offered most far-going guarantees of personal and job security.

"This is especially worth stressing, since (...) it should be remembered how such conflicts are solved in countries calling themselves the strongholds of democracy and freedom. There, an illegal, wildcat strike staged independently of the union structures is regarded as lawlessness and the strikers are severely punished. All measures allowed by the law are used including tough repression, without talk or mediation. There were enough examples for this in recent years. But in Poland. [as received] anything able to stir up, multiply difficulties here, according to the Western Polish-language stations, is legal. Rather peculiar philosophy.

"The shipyard managers responded to all the postulates they could. All that was possible has been done. But it is impossible to create conditions for going back to the situation of 1981," TRYBUNA stated.

TRYBUNU LUDU Calls Walesa 'Magician'

LD1005113088 Warsaw PAP in English 1027 GMT 10 Mar 88

["Have a Laugh" — PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, May 10—"One is tempted to say: A prestidigitator or, something sounding more familiar: a magician. 'I still have many cards of my sleeves', Walesa told the shrinking group of strikers in the Gdansk shipyard and demanded that his helpers 'convert' those who have already had enough," writes TRYBUNA LUDU today.

"And then, after a wave of demagogical chants, there was a bizarre announcement. The strikers who had suffered burns while sun-bathing were told to report and collect an ointment to ease their pain caused by too much sun.

"Well, dear readers, there can be no vacciliation or hestitation: Let us be at one with those who instead of working must suffer from sun rays," the paper concluded.

Further Reportage on Work Stoppages 6 May

Orzechowski Views Strike Damage

AU0905134388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 May 88 p 3

[Article by Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski: "Poles Themselves Build Poland's Position and Authority"]

[Text] Today Poland is at a crossroads, and the future of socialist renewal, of economic reform, of the democratization of social life, and of the opening to the world has been called in question. Poland's authority, which has been rebuilt with such toil, and our place in the socialist community and in the great family of European and world nations again continue to be endangered. Our country has once again become a primary subject of the mass media in many countries. Poland's image as a country harassed by strikes, internal strife, and anarchy is being revived.

History knows of no case of rapid, effective, and painless achievement of far-reaching economic reforms, and Poland is no exception. It is natural that deep economic changes, changed price-wage mechanisms, decentralized management, and the increased independence of plants reveal—especially in view of such a profound and painful recent economic crisis—contradictory interests and give rise to conflicts, which it is difficult to prevent when the reform is at an early stage. Overcoming rigid setups and habits, the reform meets the opposition of those whose position is threatened by it and arouses the distrust of those who are asked to make sacrifices.

The pain of the price-incomes operation, which is the necessary condition for enforcing new principles of economic management, has obscured for the public the favorable results of the first months of the realization of the second stage of the reform. It is natural that disputes arise, but they should be patiently solved under only one condition: respect for the law and public order. The present strikes and unrest can reverse development trends and waste the achievements of the past few years, achievements scored with such great efforts by all the people.

The return of the chaos of strikes and a renewed aggravation of our situation would not only fatally affect our living standards, but also deal a blow to Poland's position. We can sense a bitter taste of this right now.

Our friends and well-wishers, as well as those who are not interested in a strong Poland and want to make capital out of our discomfort, are looking at our country with increased keenness.

At the ninth party congress we began the policy of socialist renewal, and today we are part of the great stream of reforms and changes along the road to social reality that is worthy of the name of socialism at the end of the 20th century.

The nature of our allied relations with the USSR and our place and role in the socialist community impose obligations on us. As is the case with other socialist states and peoples, we share responsibility for the great cause of "perestroyka" and socialist renewal. Whether we want it or not, whatever has been and is taking place between the Bug and the Odra poses the question: Will these efforts succeed? Can these efforts succeed? There are many opponents of perestroyka and renewal, and they are not only on the other side of the class barrier.

The 1980-81 crisis was signal proof that socialist Poland's strength or weakness constitutes a crucial factor in the balance of forces in Europe and in the overall East-West relations. Conversely, Poland's fate depends on peace, detente, and the stability of political relations in Europe.

The past year produced a tangible improvement in the international atmosphere in Europe and elsewhere. The Washington accord opened the road to genuine disarmament and dispelled a vision of nuclear catastrophe. However, the political and disarmament dialogue between the USSR and the United States, as well as between the NATO states and the Warsaw Pact states, is still in a very delicate phase. There are large and influential forces in the West that are keen to exploit every favorable opportunity to halt the process of detente and disarmament. There are also people there who would like to see Poland as a weak and internally torn echelon of the socialist community. Advocates of confrontation welcome just any pretext.

Let us repeat—a destabilization of the situation in Poland would harm the whole of Europe. The policy of official U.S. and West European circles vis-a-vis Poland so far is an integral part of this truth. I also have in mind today's declarations and actions.

We appreciate the changes in Western policy vis-a-vis our country in recent years. An expression of this change was the renewal and subsequent normalization of political dialogue in mutual relations. Unfortunately and through no fault of our own, progress in economic cooperation is still not great, and actual discrimination in financial-credit relations is continuing. So far, Western support for healing the Polish economy has only taken the form of words, and has not been and is not being followed by deeds.

The latest events have confirmed yet again that Poland was and is treated as a tool. The main line of the strategy against our country is becoming obvious—making economic concessions dependent on progress in national accord along Western patterns, and on sanctioning the activity of anticonstitutional groups and recognizing them as a part of our political system.

Of course, the stance of our Western partners is not united. Realism and a readiness to undertake equal and favorable cooperation exist to a varying degree. Also, some of these countries do not lack social forces or circles who are kind to Poland and the Poles, and who understand the complexity of our situation. However, it is facts that count in politics.

The reaction of some Western countries to the development of events in Poland sometimes has a dual nature. On the one hand, there are sober official declarations, and on the other hand an unbridled propaganda campaign that even supports the strikes. Some loudly bemoan the situation of the working people in Poland. Others, for example experts from the IMF and World Bank, adhering to strict economic laws, demand from us the kind of methods of implementing the economic reforms that would reduce society's standard of living.

It is the Poles who are building Poland's position and prestige. Whether the insulting epithet of a "sick man of Europe" will once again be applied to our country depends solely on us. Unfortunately, what is happening in Poland today encourages the idea that the Poles are incapable of handling their own affairs. It is undermining the country's economic and financial credibility and making it known that doing business with the Poles is an uncertain matter.

These are very bitter words. They hurt, and must hurt every patriotic Pole. However, the brutal truth is that the world has not had, does not have, and will not have any understanding and sympathy for the weak and divided. Only the most productive and best organized work can win the human race toward the future and for the future.

In Poland there are many millions of people who show every day that our society is capable of solving its own affairs in a democratic and dignified manner.

Regardless of what happens in Poland tomorrow, or in 1 week's time, or in 1 month's time, the vision of Poland in 1988 has been tarnished. This process may and must be halted, and then reversed. The most vital interests of the Polish nation and the good and peaceful future of the fatherland require it.

Krakow Doctor Denies Police Brutality

LD0605214588 Warsaw PAP in English
2105 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Krakow, May 6—In connection with rumours spread to the effect that there were numerous people injured and beaten during the May 5 Police operation at the Lenin steel mill in Nowa Huta, PAP asked chief medical officer of the Krakow Voivodship Doctor Zdzislaw Wojcik to throw light on the issue. Said Doctor Wojcik:

"I should like to say that neither on May 5 nor on May 6 was there a patient admitted for surgery or hospitalized with whom the admission would be caused by having been beaten in the area of police operation."

"Neither was the ambulance service at the Nowa Huta Hospital called out to assist anyone who had been in the region of the operation. [quotation marks as received]

"Thus, I cannot confirm the rumours that are being disseminated about beatings and many injured at the site of the police operation at the Lenin steel mill in Nowa Huta."

Nowa Huta Plant Youths Adopt Stance

LD0605223688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2200 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] The resolution of the extraordinary plenary session of the Council of the Factory Union of Socialist Polish Youth at the metallurgical plant in Nowa Huta, convened on Thursday in association with the sociopolitical situation in the plant, states that significant losses by workers—mainly young—and also the enormous labor turnover, are witness to the fact that hard and responsible work, despite the significantly increased productivity and the plant's good economic results have not been appropriately rewarded. The fast reaction to the postulates of the workforce, the further development of socialist democracy, should be a guarantee that conflicts and disputes are solved by negotiation, the resolution states.

Workers Quit Shipyard, End Strike 10 May

Security Forces Withdrawn 9 May

AU0905161288 Paris AFP in English
1555 GMT 9 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 9 (AFP)—The authorities on Monday withdrew anti-riot police from around the Lenin shipyards in the northern port of Gdansk where workers have occupied the premises for the last week, informed sources in the city said.

The main access points to the giant shipyards, however, were still guarded by local policemen and it was impossible to enter or exit from the yards, the sources added.

It was not known why the security forces, who encircled the shipyards on Thursday, were pulled back.

A third round of talks aimed at ending the strike collapsed early Monday and the government warned that it was considering liquidating the shipyards and making the 12,000 workers redundant.

Management also issued a new ultimatum for the strikers to evacuate the shipyard by 6 p.m. (1600 GMT)

Police Strengthen Security 10 May

LD1005105588 Hamburg DPA in German
0958 GMT 10 May 88

[Excerpt] Gdansk (DPA)—Police security officers have strengthened their ring, isolating the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk since yesterday. According to the strikers, there are still around 800 to 1,000 strikers there. Adam Michnik, the strikers' spokesman, reported today that several young people attempting to take food and other goods over the fence have been maltreated.

Security officers kicked an 18-year-old girl in the stomach and beat a 23-year-old man's head against concrete. "On one hand statements are made on the desire for a humanitarian solution, while on the other people are beaten simply for wanting to enter the area of the shipyard," Michnik said.

Efforts for a peaceful solution to the conflict continue today. Piotr Konopka, another spokesman for the strikers, is of the opinion that these talks are doomed to failure as the other side does not want to give way. Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak once more telephoned the lawyer Wladyslaw Sila Nowicki, who is acting as mediator. [passage omitted]

Solidarity Paying Strike Wages

LD1005174588 Hamburg DPA in German
1637 GMT 10 May 88

[Excerpt] Gdansk (DPA)—The banned trade union Solidarity today began to pay strike money to striking workers of the Lenin shipyard. The strike committee reported that the payment is one half of the monthly wage. The strikers can choose whether to receive the money personally or have it paid to their families outside the shipyard. This is Solidarity's response to the management report that the workers may collect their wages from two places outside the shipyard. [passage omitted]

PAP Criticizes RFE's 'Hypocrisy'

LD1005184588 Warsaw PAP in English
1641 GMT 10 May 88

["RFE's Hypocrisy Beats Intended Inspiration"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, May 10—Despite the tremendous efforts of the instigators of social unrest who want to make use of the difficult period of the implementation of the second stage of economic reform, the wave of illegal strikes somehow does not want to drown Poland.

Slogans and calls based on lies or distortions of facts (which some Western correspondents and subversive Polish-language radio stations excel at) give less and less response. Oppositionist strategic centres, therefore, throw ever stronger forces into the battle.

As part of these activities Radio Free Europe on May 7 aired an interview which Zbigniew Brzezinski granted to the American national public radio.

The tone of the interview was to be set by the introductory question: "Professor, have the strikers in Poland, in your opinion, made the first step in the direction of a revolution."

This question could surprise even a beginner among political observers. That is why the seasoned political science expert had to reply with clear disconcert: "I am not holding that these strikes are the beginning of a revolution."

The interview was wound up by Brzezinski's words: "...The Poles, especially Jaruzelski, must be willing to reach social agreement, to reach agreement with the church and 'Solidarnosc'..."

This program undoubtedly was aimed at fulfilling the role of deeper ideological inspiration, of adding heart to "those struggling against communism." But its effect must be exceptionally doubtful.

This owning to the fact that the Poles need no special encouragement to reach agreement with the church. The bishops, on the other hand, well sense the situation of the country, which is evidenced by the communique of the 227th conference of the episcopate, held at Jasna Gora on May 3. The Church's participation in the strike negotiations was also an expression of concern.

And as far as the current so-called Solidarnosc is concerned, a group of people ready to do anything and well paid by Western centres of political adventurism, who would not hesitate to reach for any measures to attain their goals, today appears in the name of the former organization. They abuse democratic freedoms and even violate the law unpunished.

No inspiration flows from the interview aired by Radio Free Europe. What does come through is hypocrisy which is not even concealed.

Prague TV Interviews Urban on Strikes

LD1005194988 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 10 May 88

[Interview with Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban by correspondent Jiri Otava; date, place not given; questions, answers in Polish with superimposed Czech translation; live or recorded]

[Text] [Otava] Comrade Minister, recently Poland has been in the news a lot again. Not all Poles, however, seem to be proud of this fact. In your view, what was the cause of last week's events?

[Urban] They were brought about by the price increases and the resulting changes in wages. Disproportion between wage increases in various enterprises gave cause for new wage demands. Deeper reasons, however, ought to be sought, namely the reduction of the living standard and the slow rate of introducing the adopted political and economic reforms. Political opponents stepped in and wanted to put a political stamp on some strikes: to be exact only on a few strikes and a few strike demands.

[Otava] I read an article in ZYCIE WARSZAWY today that the point raised at the Gdansk shipyard is not only wage demands. What is the government's position on this affair?

[Urban] We have not allowed any discussion demanding political pluralism or the request to restore the activity of Solidarity. We firmly reject these requests. But this does not close the matter.

[Otava] It was announced that because of the work stoppage the Gdansk shipyard lost the opportunity to receive funds from the Polish National Bank. Does it mean that the shipyard will go bankrupt? What is in its future?

[Urban] Yes, it is in a jeopardy of going bankrupt. The minister of industry is analyzing the situation and soon decisions will be made.

Workers Leave Shipyard

LD1005180888 Hamburg DPA in German 1749 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Gdansk (DPA)—The workers at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk ended their strike this evening. They stated their readiness to leave the occupied yard at 2000, although there has not been an agreement made with the authorities. The bishop of Gdansk, Tadeusz Goclowski, has asked the police to dismantle the barricades around the shipyard.

At 2000 exactly the workers silently left the shipyard one after the other. The main gate, which had been shut for days, had been opened.

The police had not withdrawn, but they allowed the workers to pass. One worker was carrying a wooden cross. Labor leader Lech Walesa and the chairman of the strike committee, Alojzy Szablowski, were in the second row. More than 200 people from outside the shipyard joined the procession, which set off in the direction of the church of Brygida.

'Support' Dwindles for Strike

LD1005192988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] At 2000 [1800 GMT] Today, a group of several hundred strikers at the Gdansk shipyard left the enterprise.

UPI correspondent Bogdan Turek reports from Gdansk:

It seems that support is dwindling for the strike—which has lasted for 9 days—of 1,000 Gdansk shipyard workers demanding pay increases and official recognition of the illegal Solidarity. Walesa, who had previously told the strikers that he still had a few aces up his sleeve, yesterday evening warned his supporters not to get too disappointed if their numbers continued to dwindle. The situation is hopeless. The strike committee at present simply wants to withdraw from the strike with honor.

Shipyard Workers Issue Statement

LD1005202688 Hamburg DPA in German 1938 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Gdansk (DPA)—After leaving the Gdansk shipyard, the workers issued the following statement:

"We made the sovereign decision to leave the shipyard without an agreement with the leadership, whose attitude has made any agreement impossible. We did not strike for ourselves, we will not be master of our own country. [sentence as received] This time we were not victorious. We are not leaving the shipyard in triumph. We are leaving with heads held high in the conviction that our protest against the conditions prevailing in

Poland, against the degrading treatment, and against the arrogance of the leaders, who are responsible for the poverty of Poland and its people, was justified.

The country is in a crisis. The economy is dying. Most Poles see no prospects for their lives in their own country. Those in power continue to treat the state as their own property. If this continues a national catastrophe threatens. One cannot regard this with indifference. Our protest is an important moment in the work of reestablishing the awareness that one must fight if one wants to win, to ward off from the country the catastrophe that the leadership cannot counteract because it is not in a position to find the language of dialogue with the people.

We and the Nowa Huta workers gained something precious. After years of passivity and hopelessness the population is awakening; above all the youth, who today realize more clearly than some months ago that one must fight for one's rights. The end of the strike without an agreement proves that Poland's political, social, and economic paralysis continues and will grow. There is still no solution. We are not renouncing the fight for the Solidarity trade union. In these past few days the young generation of workers has introduced a new spring for Solidarity. We remain true to our slogan: There is No Freedom Without Solidarity."

Miners Unions, Government Settle Dispute

LD1005221588 Warsaw PAP in English
2113 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 10—A collective dispute between the federation of Miners' Unions and the government was settled during talks held here today. The sides were represented by delegations which were headed by the Deputy Minister of Industry Andrzej Wroblewski and the federation's Vice-Chairman Stefan Piwonski.

Andrzej Wroblewski told PAP that the subject of the dispute was the possibility of wage increases in the mining industry. In the majority of mining enterprises wages are determined according to the so-called threshold formula.

Recently the Council of Ministers passed resolutions, concerning, among other things, the issue of raising this threshold by seven points. Allowances were introduced for round-the-clock and three-shift system work, as well as export-oriented work. During the talks we explained to each other how the real possibilities of wage increases in the mining sector look against this backround. In our opinion, in the present economic situation this should allow enterprises to shape their employees' wages in a way which meets economic realities and the costs of living and which would take into consideration a comparison with wage increases in other sectors of the economy.

We ended the dispute with these decisions and, at the same time, we agreed that we would re-analyse the situation after the first year of the year.

Stefan Piwoski said that after a presentation of arguments for and against and a long discussion it was jointly agreed that wages in the mining industry will have to be correlated to the costs of living to a degree at least guaranteeing the maintenance of the level of real wages.

We stated jointly that there exists a possibility of raising wages above their originally specified growth threshold. At present this is an optimum solutions which will, however, be re-analysed after the first six months of the current year, after the OPZZ carries out an analysis of the costs of living. If such a need arises—the present settlement will have to be verified.

The adopted settlements end our collective dispute. We hold the opinion that—in the light of the law on trade unions—they have led to a situation in which we do not have to hold a conciliatory meeting.

Council of Ministers Discusses Plan Fulfillment

LD1005022588 Warsaw PAP in English
0032 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 9 — During today's session the Council of Ministers reviewed and directed to the Sejm a report on the course of the realization during the last two years of the national socio-economic plan for the 1986-1990 period.

The progress achieved between 1986-87 in the combatting of development difficulties and the realization of social goals in general conformed with the plans provisions.

In 1987 there occured, however, a sharpening of negative tendencies, the dynamics of economic processes was lower and the internal and external balance worsened.

The lower economic growth rate in 1987 was caused by both a drop of the dynamics of the uspply of factors of production as well as the deterioration of effectiveness, resulting, to a great extent, from unfavourable weather conditions. This is evidenced by a nearly 10 percent drop in net agricultural output. Outside agriculture the national income grew by 3.6 percent.

After two years of the plans realization the growth rate of the national income produced and distributed exceeded the lower and the upper, respectively, levels specified in the plan, thanks mainly to good 1987 results.

The average annual industrial production growth rate (3.7 percent) exceeded the rate envisaged in the plan (3.3 percent). In 1987 the growth rates were equal.

After 1986, which was very favourable for agriculture, the worse results achieved in 1987—resulting mainly by bad weather conditions, caused that the average annual growth rate specified in the plan was not reached in the 1986-1987 period.

In 1987 the number of pigs dropped by 2 percent. At the end of the year there appeared signs indicating a possibility of the restoration of growth tendencies in the current year. The falling trend in the number of cattle, which has prevailed over the last 5 years, has been arrested.

Investment outlays in the economic grew by an average 4.6 percent per year. After two years the advancement of the outlays planned for the whole quinquennium amounted to 38.9 percent, which should be regarded as correct.

The profits of enterprises grew faster that the value of sales and financial accumulation, while funds for development grew faster than supplies of goods and investment services. In this scope there was no improvement of the balancing of the investment market and the improvement of the realization of investments.

The volume of exports was growing over 1986-1987 in line with the provisions, that is by 4.9 per cent, and that of imports by 4.7 per cent against a 2.4 per cent rise provided for by the national socio-economic plan.

The high growth rate of exchange with the socialist states was maintained.

In the years 1986-1987 exports to the hard currency countries grew by an average 3.1 per cent and imports by 4.0 per cent. Incentives stimulating strongly export production contributed to a dynamic rise in exports, especially in 1987.

At the end of 1987 the debt was 6.6 thousand million roubles and 39.2 thousand million dollars. This means the maintenance of the proportion of the debts to exports (roubel zone) at the 1985 level and the rise of proportion from 5,0 in 1985 to 5,7 in 1987 in the convertible currency zone.

The cost of living growth indices (increases in prices of spirits and tobacco products not taken into consideration) were differentiated for individual socio-economic groups of the population. As a result, the rise in the purchasing power of particular types of household ranged from 2 to 11 per cent over the two years.

Report by National Bank of Poland [subhead]

The council of ministers approved a report on the activities of the National Bank of Poland in 1987.

The general goal of the reestablishment of a market equilibrium and the strengthening of the zloty was not achieved, this was evidenced by a 276-billion-zloty budget deficit. The budget was financed through bank credits which impeded the monetary balance. During the last months of 1987 there occurred, due to the envisaged fall in the value of money, signs of citizens trying to get rid of their money by buying out commodities and purchasing foreign currencies. The mass buying out of consumer articles caused a significant drop in stocks.

Moreover, the Council of Ministers adopted Poland's balance of payments for 1987, a report on the fulfillment of the credit plan in 1987 and the national banks of Poland balance at december 31, 1987. The council advised that the adopted documents be submitted to the Sejm.

Social Policy [subhead]

The Council of Ministers made a preliminary assessment of the proposed systemic changes to social policy. The draft also presents the current situation in monetary allowances.

Changes should be introduced to fac' ry social funds, so far based on paternalistic model of a work establishment. Tasks in this field will be better performed by specialized institutions.

The new strategy in the field of social policy will be adjusted to the reforms 2nd stage. Assumptions for the latter half of the year will be presented for public consultation and also to a broad circle of experts.

New principles of granting allowances will be introduced in a way which will not surprise anybody. Also, they will not involve the loss of already granted entitlements.

Changes to Penal Law [subhead]

The council of Ministers adopted a draft law on changing certain provisions of the penal law and the law on misdemeanours. The proposed changes modify the system of executing the penalty of restricted freedom.

In connection with the oncoming expiry of the 1985 Law on Special Penal Responsibility there is a need that the penal code should include solutions which proved useful and justified, which particularly applies to regulations concerning simplified and summary proceedings.

Reform, Government Special Powers Debated

PZPR CC Politburo Meets

LD1005185488 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] The Party Central Committee Politburo has discussed the country's sociopolitical and economic situation and examined the progress of implementation of the

reforms of the state and the economy. The Politburo deemed it essential to implement more quickly and dynamically the resolutions of the sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum aimed at extending the democratic transformations, widening the opportunities for the development of initiatives and public involvement, and expanding national accord.

Resolute will was expressed to continue, in coalition cooperation with the ZSL, the SD, the PRON signatories, and all patriotic forces, raising the standing within the system of all elements of socialist democracy of development [as heard] and strengthening self-government. The process of implementing the second stage of the economic reform, which is taking place in particularly difficult conditions, must be subjected to constant and thorough analysis, taking into consideration also the social effects of the introduction of changes. In accordance with guidelines adopted earlier, a comprehensive analysis will be carried out on the basis of the results of the first 6 months. But timely corrections, especially aimed at the strengthening of its mechanisms and guaranteeing its greater effectiveness, are also essential.

The Politburo examined the results of the discussion on special powers for the government. It was emphasized that these should serve to protect the working people's living conditions and to implement more fully the second stage of the economic reform.

The Politburo examined a report on the realization of the provisions of the Polish-Soviet declaration on cooperation in the field of ideology, science, and culture, and an assessment of the implementation of the comprehensive program for strengthening and developing relations between Poland and the Soviet Union. The attainments and experiences in implementing the declaration so far confirm the significance and topicality of the fundamental directions of work and the most important tasks in the development of Polish-Soviet friendship and cooperation. The essence of these tasks is closely related to the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress.

Jaruzelski Notes 'Difficulties'

AU1005110888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 May 88 pp 1,2

[Report on Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and State Council chairman, at the "Scientific Session" at the headquarters of the Polish National Bank to mark the 160th anniversary of the bank in Warsaw on 6 May]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted on Polish National Bank's history] Experience shows that, despite effort and determination, it is difficult to carry through genuinely profound reforms because of many internal, external, objective, and subjective difficulties. However, there is no reason why we should see the end of the 20th century with feelings of unfulfilled expectations and disappointed hopes.

All great reforms have always encountered difficulties, so there is no reason why our reform should have a smooth passage and be without conflicts of interests, especially since our country has been harassed by so many troubles.

The state and party leadership has openly told the people that our reform will definitely involve costs, certain hardships, and difficult situations for various communities and individuals. The reform can produce results only step by step. W. Jaruzelski stressed that this process is taking place under extremely difficult conditions and under the hardships that developed in previous years, and that is why situations continue to arise in which some people cannot come to terms with various troubles and become disgruntled. That is why we must ensure that people realize more acutely and clearly that changes are necessary. The party and state leadership realizes that, while looking for most difficult and often pioneering solutions, it has failed to appreciate various dangers. Reform mechanisms have not been effective enough in some cases, especially insofar as price-income policy is concerned. The price operation has not improved the flow of goods, and in some sectors things have even become worse. This is precisely the reason why some segments of our community regard the reform as something that can only cause our living standards to deteriorate and not as a process that can improve our economy. If this is what people think and what begins to rule the masses, then we must respect this fact. However, as W. Jaruzelski said, the activities of the opposition are a particularly crucial factor that foments unrest and determines its character.

Our difficulties have again begun to be used as an instrument directed against socialism and our people's interests.

I want to stress most strongly our determination to continue our reform. We will not allow anyone to dismantle its principles and mechanisms. Bearing this in mind, we have worked out proposals for special powers [for the government], which will be presented by the premier to the Sejm in the next few days. The sole purpose of these powers is to back and accelerate the reform, to release the brakes that hinder it, and to make it watertight against whatever could dilute it.

Stressing that the eighties are a time of a great reform movement in Poland, W. Jaruzelski said that the organic unity of economic rationalism with social and humanist values of socialism represents the greatest synthesis of the economic model that we want to build for Poles and Poland with the help of efforts of all Poles. [passage omitted on bank exhibition]

Rakowski Briefs Sejm Council

AU1005084588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 May 88 p 3

[Speech by Politburo member Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski at 6 May session of the Sejm's Socioeconomic Council, discussing the government bill on bestowing special powers on the Council of Ministers]

[Text] There is only one task this session is to fulfill today—to produce an opinion about the bill on the special prerogatives and powers for the Council of Ministers.

The Socioeconomic Council Presidium thinks that insofar as the reform of our economy and, consequently, of our social life is concerned, this bill is important enough for our council to be consulted on it, because the failure to do so would amount to ignoring the persons of the institution that occupies an important place in the democratic structures, which were set up in the first half of the eighties.

The idea of giving special powers to the government was first mentioned by W. Jaruzelski at the 11 March session of the ZSL Congress. Aware of the many different obstacles to the implementation of the main principles of the economic reform, W. Jaruzelski decided that it is necessary to think about employing additional instruments to protect and strengthen the course of the reform. He said that such a measure should be preceded by an analysis of the economic results of the first quarter of 1988.

W. Jaruzelski made this proposal 2 months ago, and the state leadership did not hurry and did not act rashly. The bill, which council members have in their possession, is a result of 2 months of deliberations on all the pros and cons. As a result of the aforementioned analysis, which has shown that there are negative features in the economy, including the not always justified increases in prices, which help to lower workers conditions, it has been decided to present to the Sejm that bill, which should favorably influence the country's economic development.

It goes without saying that it is impossible to examine the principles of the bill in dissociation from the process of reform of the socioeconomic system in the eighties and from the political situation that has developed in our country in the past 2 weeks.

This political situation forces every Pole to think about his place in the national community and to define his place, that is, to choose the road each one of us wants to tread today and tomorrow in his own interest and in the interest of all our people.

Before I present my views about our country's present situation, I beg your permission to discuss the circumstances and determining factors involved in the reform of our socioeconomic system in the past few years.

The rich balance sheet of our major achievements and failures in the past 7 years shows irrefutably that a radical transformation of our socioeconomic relations, ones that could no longer guarantee economic growth and provide conditions for people's spiritual development, requires time, patience, wisdom, and courage.

It requires time because it is impossible to eliminate in 5 or even 10 years ways of thinking and habits that were fostered in man for almost 40 years. It requires patience to listen to the impatient and rash people. It requires wisdom to find the shortest and least expensive road to the goals aspired to by individuals and communities. It requires courage, because without courage it is impossible to defend even the most equitable causes.

Do the governing and the governed always stick to these principles? Certainly not. Many keen observers of the economic policy of our government accuse it of inconsistency in action, of allowing many decrees and resolutions to be incoherent for too long, of making wrong decisions on prices and wages, of being much too slow in removing harassments in daily life, and so on.

These charges should be coldly analyzed so that ways can be found to eliminate existing weaknesses and errors. People also accuse the government of being too slow and even clumsy in carrying out the economic reform. Even if we assume that this is true, we must see the other side of the coin, because it is often the case that advocates of radical actions begin to protest against these actions when they are to their disadvantage. We should bear this in mind. I wish to share with this honorable council the lesson I have learned during my work as a member of the government. Some situations force one to abandon even a most rational idea when it becomes certain that it will not be accepted by those it concerns. I think that, within a foreseeable period, no government at all can expect cordial applause for its activities, because times have become difficult and full of contradictions.

This is because, as a nation, we have embarked upon a period of great socioeconomic changes in the structures of our state. Successes along this road are not easy and rapid, because we have to overcome embedded habits, some of which are of doubtful value; various weaknesses; and so on.

The experience of many nations—we are not the only nation that wants to shed off its "old skin"—shows that going over to a higher stage of economic and social development is not, as a rule, painless. Progress has to be paid for, but the thing is that this price should be as low as possible. This depends not only on the wisdom of the leadership teams, but also on the wisdom of all people. But the thing is that all of us—the governing and the governed—are children of the epoch in which we have to live. What is more, we are heirs to the good and bad traditions that have been created by various generations, and we should bear this in mind.

My remarks are not academic remarks that are divorced from reality. Every thinking Pole will concede that, at the beginning of the eighties, our country—People's Poland—entered a period of profound and very advantageous changes, which are visible in every sphere of life.

It is true that life is tough going for many Poles. Price hikes have hit them painfully. Personal cash incomes in the first quarter did not assuage the moods of these Poles. Official data show that prices increased about 45 percent, and personal cash incomes increased 60 percent. There is no reason to doubt this data, but this does not mean that it has been accepted by those working people who are much more aware of price hikes than of wage increases. This discrepancy gives rise to social discontent, especially since no one wants to boast of high incomes. People talk about their low or moderate wages and compare them with the high prices of some products.

Another source of justified discontent is the fact that almost all of us have to fight obstacles which run counter to common sense. On the other hand, we know that the democratization of sociopolitical life and openness are not propaganda tricks and smokescreens for absolute dictatorship. I do not think that any sane person could deny this truth.

There are many producers of material goods who know perfectly well that reforming the economy is not cosmetic treatment or sham action. Hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of such producers are beginning to feel the beneficial effects of the efforts to free them from the shackles that strangle the initiative and ingenuity of the individual. Many of our production plants are now working well, thanks to the economic reform.

If we take a look at the years since December 1981, we have to concede that, despite all the extremely difficult objective conditions, including all the results of our debts and of the U.S. restrictions, we have been able to shake off the most severe hardships. We have been able to propel ourselves up from the rock bottom we hit. This is an achievement of all those Poles who have worked honestly and productively all that time. There are many such Poles. We also owe our rescue to the changes in the state's economic policy. The crux of these changes is the economic reform, without which our economic situation would have been much worse today.

We should regard as cheap demagogy the fact that some people keep on repeating that Poland is still waiting for reforms. There is no need to wait for or coerce reforms, because they are already here. They are being implemented, although with differing results, but we cannot help this, because we have no convertible currency with which to buy the necessary raw materials, because we have to fight resistance within ourselves, and because new ideas and concepts of how to run the economy continue to be opposed by bureaucracy, long habit, lack of understanding of the laws of the economy, and even rejection of these laws, and so on.

It is not reforms that Poland is short of. What we are often short of is the will to consistently realize our reforms. We are short of courage to eliminate from our reality whatever is obsolete and whatever continues to drag us back. Let us not deceive ourselves. All this is our common weakness. Can we afford to speed up our changes? Can we afford to modernize our thinking and our actions at maximum speed? We certainly can, but the results of this will be determined by the road we choose.

In the past 2 weeks a proposal on how to forge ahead has been put forward in several places in Poland. This proposal is not original. We know what it amounted to in 1981—empty shops, disarray among cooperative links in production, and demagogic slogans. This proposal is for strikes, attempts to force wage increases and study grants, and so on. In fact, all this amounts to compelling the chairman of the Polish National Bank to print more and more bank notes, which are worth less and less. If our people were to support this method of improving our economy—economy in quotes—the chairman of the Polish National Bank would soon have to announce that he is short of convertible currency to buy paper for zloty bank notes, and that we all should procure small cases in which to carry the growing heaps of banknotes. Such a situation did arise in Poland at the beginning of the twenties.

In connection with the above-mentioned strike proposal as a method of emerging from the cr , it is necessary to remind the reader once again that in People's Poland, striking is a working people's right and is contained in the law. Therefore, we do not condemn strikes at all. What we do condemn are wildcat strikes, as activities that are against the basic principles of law and order. A state in which law and order are violated and, in addition, in which this violation encounters support, must sooner or later find itself in anarchy and chaos. Older generations of Poles remember how law and order were broken during Stalinism. Several decades already separate us from that era. Now, after so much experience, can we simply watch the law being broken and fail to act, wherever it is done and whoever is doing it? I think it is worth recalling that the prestige of a state and of its citizens in the world is measured not just in terms of the size of exports and artistic and scientific successes, but also in terms of domestic order. In our history there have been many events which have made foreigners think that Poland is a country that is ruled by anarchy. Enriched by recent experience, we ought to be particularly sensitive to any breach of the law by anyone.

What can one say about the strikes in our country in the past 2 weeks?

The highly unfavorable material effects of the strikes are obvious. Because our economy is in such a weak state, it can feel every standstill, every unproduced tonne of steel. The economy is not an abstract expression. It is directly or indirectly responsible for the assets of the entire population. Therefore, in the end every strike leads to a destabilization of the market. Without shutting one's eyes to the existing justified social dissatisfaction and without ignoring the difficult living conditions of

many working people, one has to view the attempts to cause chaos by strikes in Poland within the context of the changes that are taking place, and not only in our country. The opponents of socialist renewal and restructuring are receiving a wonderful, ready argument straight into their hands—there is your democratization! So let us put a dot on the "i": Whether one wants it or not, organizing strikes and various kinds of demonstrations in Poland today means attacking the economic reform and the democratization of social structures, and not just in Poland. Those who want to spread the strikes should remember that they are assuming an enormous responsibility. The present moment in time is a turning point.

This is no time for a liberum veto, for activity that undermines the stabilization that has been achieved through so much toil—the stabilization of what is still an unsteady economy.

We have already lost a lot of time. Poland has reappeared in prominent places in the world press. Western politicians and journalists who are not kindly disposed toward us are doing everything they can to make us look like a country torn by strife, a nation sitting on a volcano. When one listens to the Polish-language stations, one gains the impression that our country is dreaming of nothing except throwing itself into a whirlwind of strikes and demonstrations. Journalists are mocking us. I think it is a shame that there are Poles who convey to these sensation-seekers opinions that destroy Poland's image in the world and who make the world believe that our country cannot be treated as a credible partner. I am afraid it will take us a long time to make good the losses we have already suffered in the international arena.

Literally half an hour after the council meeting, I had a telephone call telling me that a representative of an Austrian firm that had wanted to do business with Poland received instructions from Vienna to cancel all transactions in view of the situation in Poland.

The strikes in Nowa Huta and Stalowa Wola are for economic reasons, but they have quickly assumed a political character. Those who led Poland to the brink of the precipice in 1981 have now joined these strikes. These are not trade unionists, but people who are playing a political game, and not for the first time. They feel that now is the time to bring back the past and maybe even assume power, of which they have spoken on more than one occasion. It is odd that they have learned nothing and are playing out the very same scenario as in 1981. We know this scenario, because we have experienced it by the sweat of our brow—with well-known results. They repeat all the time: We know that the strikes are not called for, but they have to be supported because this is the only way to force the authorities to make concessions. And therefore it is necessary to create a suitable atmosphere and send out telegrams describing growing unrest, an alleged wave of strikes, a growing danger to the nation — in a word, to create the impression that just a few moments more and the nation will rise.

Times have changed. This is no longer the Poland of 1981. This is no longer the society of 1981. I am convinced that today most of my compatriots, though they have various reasons to be dissatisfied and desire social calm, want to believe that we can afford to completely eliminate our shortcomings. I do not think I will be wrong in saying that most Poles oppose any form of adventurism. We have heard more than once in recent days: Is everything that is already behind us to be repeated? Are we once again to enter a phase of strikes and unrest? These are not questions from timid people, but from those who are genuinely worried about their own and the nation's future.

The Western press and some Polish leaders of the opposition compare the present situation to that of the summer of 1980. I think this is a major misunderstanding. The basic difference between 1980 and today is that in 1980 there was no broad and clear program of profound socioeconomic reforms. Today there is such a program, and it is being implemented by means of the work of millions of Poles.

In 1980 there was no Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow, there was no perestroyka, there were no ambitious historic plans to restructure the economy and social life of the USSR. Much, very much has changed in the socialist world since the summer of 1980. Whoever does not notice this gives himself a very bad report. Whoever harks back to those days, which were also full of a struggle against conservatism and dogmatism, and is causing tension and unrest, is placing a bomb beneath socialist renewal and exacerbating the international situation.

The development of the situation in Poland over the past 2 weeks also requires a fresh look at dialogue. Much has been said and written on this subject. We have heard many times from opposition circles that the dialogue is incomplete, because Walesa, Kuron, Onyszkiewicz, and the remaining members of that association are not taking part in it. We have said that: We are psychologically and politically ready for dialogue with anyone, at the same time as which we profess the principle uttered by General Jaruzelski: "We do not ask where a man comes from, but what he comes with."

I believe that based on this principle, national accord is no fiction but reality, though obviously one has to aim to expand it all the time. However, one cannot fail to ask what the gentlemen I have just mentioned came to the accord with. The reply is not difficult: They came with an offer to cause unrest, tension, and strikes, and to weaken Poland's prestige among the nations of the world.

I wish to present my own point of view about these matters. I see no possibility of dialogue with those who call for chaos in Poland and a return to another phase of self-destruction. Dialogue with all others—yes. What is more, I believe we should be much more militant in

creating platforms of dialogue for those who really accept our constitutional principles, even though their views on what Polish socialism ought to be differ, sometimes very markedly.

Esteemed comrades and citizens! Yesterday, at the Nowa Huta combine, an illegal strike which had lasted for 2 weeks in two departments of key importance to the Polish economy was ended by the militia. The elimination of this center of opposition formed by the self-styled strike committee was painless.

This was not an easy decision, but an essential one. Even if our opponents at home and abroad shout and accuse the authorities of using force, the action that was taken was correct if our law is not meant to be a worthless piece of paper. That is the procedure that is used all over the world.

The authorities cannot stand idly by and watch the modern equivalent of the historical liberum veto. From my many meetings and the letters I receive, it clearly emerges that many of my compatriots have had enough of chaos and expect resolute action from the authorities. I expect the authorities to be harsh and just. And that is the way it must be!

Esteemed council! Despite the attempts to push us away from the road to reform and onto the road to chaos and demagogy in the past 2 weeks, we as a nation are on the right road. Together we are forming a qualitatively new society. A modern one. Today there is much more realistic thinking in our country than there was 5 or 10 years ago.

We will not depart from the economic reform and the democratization of our sociopolitical life. Today and tomorrow, the PZPR and its traditional allies will act jointly with all those Poles who want to live in peace, and to whom adventurism and economic and political demagogy is alien.

Council Adopts Special Powers Opinion

LD0705180988 Warsaw PAP in English
1656 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 7 — The Socioeconomic Council attached to the Sejm adopted here yesterday its opinion on the draft law on extraordinary prerogatives and powers for the Council of Ministers.

The council has repeatedly stressed in its opinions the necessity for consistent and determined introduction of mechanisms of the second stage of the economic reform, especially activities aimed at:

— restoring economic balance,

— securing possibililties of economic development,

— counteracting the decapitalization of production assets,

— changing the country's economic structure,

— making economic parametres more real,

— reconstructing the structure of prices and the increase of labour productivity,

— radical limitation of inflation,

— creation of conditions releasing initiative,

— development of exports and limitation of the country's foreign debt.

A number of inconsistencies, red tape, indecision, tax breaks and exemptions took place during the hitherto process of the introduction of the economic reform's principles. This brought a conviction in some of the economic circles about the possibility to disregard the rules of the economic play and the country's economic realities.

If according to the governmental view the above mentioned threats exist, then the council is of the opinion that the extraordinary measures should be made use of in order to consolidate the process of reforming the economy in its second stage. Such is the council's understanding of the objective behind the draft law on extraordinary powers and prerogatives for the Council of Ministers, presented by the government to the Sejm. The law on special powers should be, in the view of the council, a guarantee of the full implementation of principles of the second stage of the economic reform. With regard to economic subjects the law should not be of repressive nature.

Powers included in Article 1 of the draft law should be clearly defined that they will be applied exlusively towards economic subjects breaking and disregarding principles of the second stage of the economic reform adopted by the Sejm.

The council whished to stress the general character of some of the entries in the draft law, which allow for their diversified interpretation, especially by state administration bodies.

according to the council, in the sense of reform supporting circles of the society, the extxraordinary prerogatives and powers should be granted to one person, the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The proposals of powers for the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Union OPZZ, included in Article 6 of the draft law, distorts the essence of the functioning and organization of trade union. The hitherto powers of trade unions should not be limited.

In reference to Article 7, the premier, acording to the council, should make monthly reports to the Sejm on the realization of the powers and prerogatives he received, as well as on the results he achieved.

Approves Council of Ministers Powers

LD0605185788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 6 May 88

[Excerpt] The Socioeconomic Council of the Sejm has expressed its view on the draft law on special powers and prerogatives for the Council of Ministers. In its opinion, passed after many hours of discussion, with 60 votes against and 17 abstaining, the council confirmed that if, in the evaluation of the government, significant threats to the implementation of the reform are apparent, then, to strengthen the process of reforming the economy in its second stage, it is appropriate to reach for extraordinary measures. That is also how the council understands the aim of the draft law on extraordinary powers and prerogatives for the Council of Ministers. The law should not have a repressive character in relation to economic agents, and the premier, in the opinion of the council, ought to give to the Sejm monthly reports on the implementation of the permission and entitlements granted, with a presentation of the results achieved. [passage omitted]

Sekula Links Powers to Reform

LD0905050088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 8 May 88

[Text] The extraordinary prerogatives for the government are designed as an accelerator of the implementation of the reform, Ireneusz Sekula, minister of labor and social policy, said in an interview for the television bulletin. They are to make it possible to overcome bureaucratic barriers and to tear up the cobweb of the old regulations, inadequate for the present times. They are also to deprive opponents of the reform of a tool with which they have, up till now, been blocking progress quite effectively, and at the same time to provide an incentive and give courage and strength to those workers and managers who were hampered by this corset and who would like to walk faster along the path of innovations and experiments, and take others along with them thanks to their good results.

Minister Sekula said that the extraordinary prerogatives will make it possible to step up control over price and pay raises and the supply of goods to the market.

Talking about stepping up control over wage increases, Ireneusz Sekula said that the government will not block all raises. In the conditions of the economic reform, the government cannot either give money to an independent enterprise, or in the same way, it cannot take money away from it.

Sejm To Take Up Powers Bill 11 May

LD1005202588 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] The Sejm will meet at 1000 tomorrow. It will examine a government bill on special powers and prerogatives for the Council of Ministers whose purpose is to speed up and guarantee the process of reforming the economy and to counter inflationary risks.

PUWP Deputies Discuss Reform

LD1005221788 Warsaw PAP in English 2127 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 10—The PUWP Sejm deputies' floor group discussed the socio-political situation in Poland during a meeting held here today. In a statement on this subject it was said that the evoking of tensions and conflicts constitutes a challenge to the striving to stabilization and a threat to reforms, which require protection. At the same time, in connection with social expectations tied with the reform, the participants critically evaluated signs of inconsistency and even indolence in the realization of the transformations by part of the economic apparatus.

The floor group acquainted itself with the realization of the price-income policy during the first four months of the current year.

Premier Zbigniew Messner, discussing the genesis and subject matter of the draft law on special powers for the Council of Ministers pointed especially to the fact that the hitherto processes of the economic reform were taking place too slowly. The goal of the special powers is not only putting in order matters connected with the income-price policy. These powers are intended to give the government the possibility — until the end of this year — of accelerating the reform process. The premier stressed that the powers were not intended to lead to command-type moves.

Sejm Deputy Speaker Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski referred to the requirements connected with the development of the situation in Poland.

During a meeting of the UPP (United Peasant Party) deputies' floor group the participants, who in general agreed on expediency of granting special powers for the government in the present difficult situation, drew attention to the fact that government actions within the framework of the awarded powers should be prompt, effective and consistent.

Also members of the DP (Democratic Party) deputies' floor group voiced their support for granting the proposed special powers to the government.

Daily Comments on Powers, Strikes

AU1005125088 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 May 88 pp 1,2

[Waldemar Mickiewicz article: "Defend the Reform"]

[Excerpts] The events of the past few days have delivered particularly strong blows against our still weak economy. Conflicts are still smoldering, and there is an urgent need for us to tot up our losses. [passage omitted]

It is no revelation to note that these blows endanger our reform and put its future into doubt. However, W. Jaruzelski continues to stress that, despite difficulties and the complicated situation, there will be no departure from the adopted policy. The Sejm will be asked to grant special powers to the government in order to accelerate changes and to prevent any departure from the principles of the reform.

At this moment our knowledge of what these special powers will be is still limited, and that is why it is difficult to comment on them. But it is almost certain that these powers will be meaningful only when they result in an effective and desirable economic policy. This is because the champions of the reform have been mostly disturbed by the fact that, on occasions, the solution of economic problems stopped at just creating mechanisms and at substituting them for real economic policy. We have often pointed to the danger of "hiding" behind mechanisms.

If special powers and prerogatives favor an energetic implementation of the reform, the creation of mechanisms, and the release of production initiative, and if they impart dynamism to economic policy, we will be able to talk about their profound meaning. Let us repeat: Without a clear and energetic economic policy it will be impossible to change economic reality, either in the way expected by the people or in the way that will enable us to leave our blind alley for good.

The complicated situation of our economy, which is harassed by internal disproportions, by shortages of materials, of fuels, and especially of convertible currency, and by structures that have been developed for dozens of years but that no longer respond to social needs and the challenge of the future, is a suitable field for political games and presents a unique opportunity to turn people's natural concern for existence into political unrest and to unleash a struggle for power. It is unfortunate that the postulates of some striking work forces include demands expressing just those things. In addition, the professional politicians of the opposition are again scaling the factory fences in order to make their own political capital at the cost of the economy and people.

In this way the political situation and the antisocialist opposition's efforts to kindle the struggle against the political system—these efforts are responsible for interfering with our talks and economic accords with foreign countries—help to additionally dramatize the country's economic position and raise the cost of achieving economic stability.

ZMS Endorses Special Powers

LD0805185488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 8 May 88

[Text] The Presidium of the Main Board of the Socialist Youth Union [ZMS] has adopted a stance on the situation in the country, and at the same time defined the organization's tasks. We think, declares the document, that the program of political and economic reform gives potential possibilities for Poland's economic development, an improvement in society's standard of living, and the development of people's power. We cannot squander this opportunity. Today, we need above all courage and decisive steps in leading the economy as well as the economic and state administrative structures to a high level of efficiency and effective functioning. These will be served by special powers for the government, from whom we expect serious consideration and efficient implementation. The ZMS Main Board Presidium appeals to Polish youth, to all its milieux, for wise support of activities which lead to changes and improvement in national well-being.

Strikes Aid Reform Opponents

LD1005231588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 10 May 88

[(Marek Lewicki) commentary]

[Excerpts] Poland, ladies and gentlemen, has always been a place where various cultures, world outlooks, and schools of thought intermingled. One of the greatest problems Polish thinkers and responsible political activists in different eras had to cope with was the search for a way to prevent us getting bogged down in barren disputes about who was more correct, and who less. Instead, they should have utilized the riches of the ideas being born for a joint construction of a strong, independent, and orderly Poland. Today, I would say, we have a greater jumble of thoughts and actions than ever before. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, the events of the past days have lent strength to the opponents of reform. There should be a withdrawal from an excess of democratic freedoms — just look what they lead to! Some people (?advise). Curtail the powers of the trade unions! (?Add others). Forget about self-management; there must be a return to central management! others call. At the same time there are the added voices of the inspirers of the various strike actions, (?people) who are against reform, who demand a restoration of the state of affairs of 1981, that is, before

the reform; the reamination of Solidarity, the Independent Union of Students, and other organizations. That means (?to unloose) chaos, elbowing for power, and, as a result, empty shops and kilometer-long lines.

Ladies and gentlemen, today one must understand that there is no (?leaving the road of reform). In addition, pluralism, even socialist pluralism, in the Polish version, requires very strong (?nerves).

Urban Holds Press Conference 10 May
LD1005201388 Warsaw PAP in English
1936 GMT 10 May 88

[By Leszek Kubiak, Waldemar Janiec; all quotation marks as received]

[Text] Warsaw, May 10—The main topics of today's press conference held by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban included an assessment of the current situation in Poland, the stance of the government towards the political slogans voiced during the strikes, Sadowski's offer on meeting with so-called independent people, the militia intervention in Nowa Huta, accusations against the Western press, an assessment of the mediation attempts by the church and information about the number of people arrested.

Urban also replied to questions about special powers for the government, Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland, the delimitation of the Pomeranian Bay waters and the economic situation of the Gdansk shipyard.

Current Situation in Poland [subhead]

About 150 employees of the "Ursus" tractor factory who yesterday downed their tools, have left the canteen as a result of talks with representatives of the management and the worker council of the enterprise. All of "Ursus" is operating as usual today. The situation in schools of higher education is easing. Despite the instigation of Western radio stations which create a psychosis to the effect that the whole country is beginning to strike and that a new crisis has started in Poland, the strike and protest actions have not won the support of the working class and society, Urban said.

I say this without a feeling of triumph, Urban stressed adding that the illegal strikes and threats of strikes, demonstrations and unrest which have in recent days engulfed certain groups of society stemmed from moods of discontent which are of a broader dimension. We are aware of this, we understand the restlessness of people for whom life is not easy. The authorities are drawing conclusions from this situation. It is an important fact, however, that people nad groups of people who are ready to play games with the fate of Poland have not been able to win broader support and use the discontent to derail the policy of reform and renewal.

No to Political Slogans [subhead]

Political slogans were also prompted to a part of the striking crews, above all of trade union pluralism, Urban stated. This gained external support rapidly. It turned out, however, that the Polish working class has not entered the same river twice, a river in which we all caught a bad cold.

Some politicians in the West, parties and trade union councils, and, to a lesser degree, governments, asked us and continue to ask us why we do not agree to the postulate of pluralism without any limitations. Why, then national agreement would come true, they say. This is not true. How can one trust people who say that they aim at dialogue and the first chance they get they try to derail the country. They hold that they want true and deep reform but are opposed to it the very moment it starts to gain momentum. Former and current experience has taught Polish society to differentiate between such words and deeds.

These undertakings today are not only aimed against internal Polish affairs. They strike at the democratic transformations and reforms in all socialist countries. This is because they show that freedoms can be abused against socialism and to hamper reforms.

Sadowski's Offer [subhead]

Responding to the suggestions of various people, representatives of Catholic circles inclusive, Vice Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski on April 30 voiced a readiness to meet a group of so-called independent people, including Lech Walesa, to talk about issues of implementing the economic reform. The call to strikes and the sit-in in the shipyard was a reply to this offer of talks. The situation which arose and the concrete strike moves by Walesa have sharply reduced this chance, Urban said.

Militia Intervention at Nowa Huta [subhead]

Urban also stressed that Poland faced many difficult months and new dangers ahead, including the threat of the authorities falling into self-lull. In this context the government spokesman stressed that the militia intervention at Nowa Huta was necessary but that it was no model nor method of solving Polish problems.

The May events will compel the government to more consistently develop the reform, which should be felt more strongly by society, and more effectively search for social approval for it. The events will, therefore, not put the brakes on the process of national agreement but strengthen it and expand dialogue. This majority expects more effective and firm reformatory actions. I am only signalling the direction of our further policy, Urban said.
Accusations Against Western Press [subhead]

Urban reiterated charges against the Western press, accusing it of supporting Polish-language radio stations. A significant part of this press acted to organize conflict

and power struggle in Poland, the government spokesman said. Creating an impression that half of Poland was on strike and that the rest would do so tomorrow served this end. Numerous accounts were given of such events which never took place. The calls of various small groups, like the board of the "Mazowsze" chapter which fruitlessly called for a common stoppage of work, were aired as announcements that the day after there would be such strikes, Urban pointed out.

The lack of restraint in the opinions of the newsmen contrasted with the much more quiet reactions of Western governments, Urban said. However, we observed as the stance of the governments at times evolved negatively for Poland under the surge in the press frenzy. For example, after the balanced reactions of the American Government far away from supporting the wildcat strikes in Poland, THE NEW YORK TIMES carried an interview with a high-ranking official of the American administration who mistakingly accused us of forcing the economic program on society and of a lack of any national agreement in Poland. Against this backdrop we are threatened with a stick, too short after all to reach Warsaw, and shown a carrot, a small, distant and blurred one at that, Urban said.

Assessment of Church Mediation Attempts [subhead]

The government spokesman had this to say in this respect:

"We appreciate and respect the good intentions of the church. The negotiators acting on its behalf did not, however, encounter any response. In Nowa Huta they held talks the whole day long but arrived with results contradictory to the agreements. In the steelworks their efforts ended in the rejection of proposals to stop the strike and then start talks. This meant the failure of the mission.

"The stoppage at the steelworks created catastrophic supply difficulties in many plants and immense losses for the entire economy. One could not, therefore, wait any longer. Such were the premises of the militia intervention aimed at enabling a majority of steelworkers who wanted to start work to do so."

Number of People Arrested [subhead]

Urban announced:

"In connection with various undertakings glaringly contradictory to law 10 people were arrested. Misdemeanour courts sentenced 20 people to terms from 2 weeks to 3 months of arrest and 111 people to fines and other penalties not tied with imprisonment. Misdemeanour courts started or will start normal procedures in relatoin to 80 people. Moreover, 6 people were detained for prevention purposes and 3 other were detained in connection with committed petty offences.

"I am expecting an uproar in the West that there are political prisoners in Poland again. This will be faulty diagnosis. Unlike the strikes organized under law, wildcat strikes and offences and petty offences associated with them, including the use of force against fellow workers and law enforcement forces, are punishable everywhere the world over, Urban said.

We are determined to execute the law, whether they like this in the West or not. I state that we are using the minimum of necessary repressive measures. We are and shall continue to use punishment sparingly. Convincing remains our main instrument of action, the spokesman stated.

Special Powers for Government [subhead]

Replying to questions on the special powers for the government which the Sejm (parliament) is to pass tomorrow, Urban confirmed that the government has withdrawn all proposals of limiting trade union rights, including the right to strike, forwarded in the tentative draft of special powers for the government, stressing that these powers were aimed at accelerating the implementation of reforms and not increasing the control functions of the government.

"The point is to arrive at greater radicalism of reformatory solutions," stated Urban adding that the Council of Ministers would be able to empower the premier to use special powers and the premier in turn could pass on these powers to his deputies or other members of the government.

Gorbachev's Visit [subhead]

Asked whether the current events in Poland could bear and impact on the course of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland, Urban replied that he did not think that this could be the case. Asked whether it was true that the visit was originally planned to take place at the beginning of June to coincide with the session of the Warsaw Treaty, Urban replied: "I am not going to deny speculations about this coincidence."

Pomeranian Bay Delimitation [subhead]

Asked about the delimitation of the Pomeranian Bay waters, Urban stated that the foreign ministers of Poland and the GDR would hold a meeting on this matter in the coming days.

Financial Situation of Gdansk Shipyard [subhead]

Asked whether the crew of the shipyard in Gdansk knew about the economic situation of the shipyard before the strike began, Urban announced that the crew knew about it. Many factors contributed to the poor situation of the shipyard, among them a rise in the costs, rise in supply prices, constant payments from the surplus account of Polish foreign trade. At the end of April this year, the

financial commitments of the shipyard totalled 28 billion 650 million zloties to the bank, 5.5 billion zloties to suppliers and about 1.5 billion zloties to the budget, among other things.

Urban also said that he respected the symbolic significance of the shipyard but that the government had to subsidize the shipyard increasingly. According to the spokesman the shipyard is not a prosperous enterprise and the current situation of the shipyard does not facilitate the balancing of its budget. Replies to Other Questions [subhead]

In reply to other questions, Urban stated, referring to a question about what the pope said during his visit to Latin America, that the state of relations between the church and state in Poland did not authorize any commentators to voice assessments ill-disposed towards Poland or negating the good will of the state. Referring to the recommendations of the IMF, Urban stated that Poland has still not received credits from the fund and that the recommendations of the IMF were not binding. If they were to contradict social interest, they would not be accepted, he said.

In reply to yet another question, Urban stated that the wage increase index in Poland for the first quarter of this year will total 60 percent. He also denied allegations that Kazimierz Barcikowski apologized to Cardinal Glemp for the militia intervention at Nowa Huta, stating that Barcikowski briefed the cardinal on the general situation in the country. A common concern to minimalize the losses dominated, the spokesman stated.

Urban also announced that the Polish Press Agency yesterday reported the correct number of people trying to stage a strike in the Ursus tractor factory yesterday. First there were 70 and then 150 of them. Your disinformation (Western - ed.) was evident, the spokesman said.

Urban on Strikes, Gorbachev Visit

LD1005133788 Warsaw PAP in English 1213 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 10—The police intervention in Nowa Huta steelworks was a necessity but not a model for solving Polish problems, said government spokesman, Minister Jerzy Urban at today's press conference here.

Urban told the conference, that on April 30 Vice-Premier Sadowski had proposed a meeting to a group of people including Walesa. (Walesa) replied with a strike.

Urban said that 10 persons had been arrested in Poland in connection with various types of breaking the law in the present situation in recent days. Misdemeanour panels sentenced 20 people to 2 weeks to 3 months arrest and 111 others were fined or otherwise punished without losing freedom.

Ordinary investigations were motioned against 80 persons and 6 were detained preventively.

Urban confirmed that the government had deleted all the proposals related to the limitations of union rights from the preliminary draft of the special powers to be given to the government.

Urban told the conference that Polish and GDR foreign ministers will meet in the coming days on the question of division of territorial waters in the Pomeranian Bay.

He also said he did not think that the incidents which took place in Poland this month could affect the course of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland.

Warsaw Reports on News Conference

LD1005232888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1630 GMT 10 May 88

[Excerpts] We are now broadcasting an extensive report from today's news conference by Minister Jerzy Urban, government press spokesman. Today's conference was unusually long. The spokesman answered more than 30 questions. Starting the meeting he said:

[Begin Urban recording] About 150 workers from Ursus, who yesterday refused to work, left the company cafeteria after talks with representatives of the management and the Worker's Council. [passage omitted]

The strikes broke out because of pay demands by some work crews. The working class, however, was aware of the fact that the struggle for pay causes a chain reaction and, on a national scale, results in the printing of paper money without cover, which exacerbates inflation and works to destroy the second stage of reform at its very outset.

An improvement in the living standard has to be got through working. Striking can only result in its deterioration. The experiences of 1981, in any case, teach that when pay increases the living standard fall, and nothing can be bought. [passage omitted]

I think that one cannot, with the same result, twice jump over the wall of the shipyard just as one cannot storm an already stormed Bastille. The concern and responsibility shown by the majority of society in this difficult period creates a good prognosis for further intensification and democratization of the course of the economic reform. There remain, however, objectively, various problems and contradictions of interests and aims and important reasons for disatisfaction, which can be found in any society. [passage omitted]

By exaggerating the events, attempts were made in Poland and in the world to create a conflict mentality and the conviction that a great test of strength was taking place that a new political crisis was under way in Poland. That is not informative activity but cooperation in the

provocation of facts and the organization of unrest. Journalistic freedom and the freedom of Western journalists in Poland were blatently abused.

Part of the Western press also misled Western public opinion by creating artificial pressure on those parties and governments. The Western press should honestly report what is happening in Poland and comment on it in accord with its convictions. However, political parties and correspondents cannot work in a way that results in the use of disinformation. They cannot base their work on information that comes from people interested in spreading the conflict and, thereby, in influencing the course of events.

Western reports insult Polish society because they present it as a mass bereft of all reason, that doesn't want to work, and that blindly follows all kinds of calls. In the meantime, irrespective of the dissatisfaction which is often justified, Polish society maintained caution and its own judgment. It behaved differently than was painted in the West. The manner in which the recent strikes in Poland were observed by some Western governments, parties, and press commentators inclines me to make certain remarks. The reform and democratization processes, which have been taking place for several years in Poland, are favorable to the disclosure of both opposing views and contradictory interests. Western observers treat Poland the same way they did in 1980 when, in the tone of relations at that time, strikes were [words indistinct] of the state. In Italy there is a daily average of 12 strikes, and no one for that reason announces a crisis in Italy. Several strikes in Poland should not encourage commentary that the state and its system are falling apart. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Episcopate Plenary Conference Issues Communique

LD0405144388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Excerpts] On 2-3 May, the 227th Plenary Conference of the Episcopate of Poland met in Jasna Gora in Czestochowa. The deliberations were chaired by Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland. [passage omitted]

Referring to the current situation, the plenary conference communique states that the bishops share the fears and hopes of all society, including the concern about the state of the country, the common property of all Poles.

Citizens who have a sense of responsibility for the country's fate must be filled with fear by the recent unrest and strikes in some industrial centers. The bishops, the communique reads, understand the motives and determination of the workers who undertook protest action. They are trying to understand the causes that led to it. The painful experience of recent years and concern for the nation's fate should prompt the joint search for new ways for the people to meet and cooperate with the authorities.

The bishops said that, in accordance with the church's social teachings, society has the right to arrive at its own identity. [podmiotowisc]. It should, however, be guided by Christian principles.

The situation in the country demands that formal considerations be set aside and joint solutions be urgently sought.

Communique Issued

AU0905104288 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 5 May 88 pp 1,2

[Unattributed report: "Communique From the 227th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate"]

[Text] The 227th plenary conference of the Polish Episcopate met at the Jasna Gora Monastery in Czestochowa on 2 and 3 May. It was chaired by Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland.

1. The church fathers considered at length the problems connected with organizing the Second Plenary Synod in Poland, which was announced on 25 February in Warsaw. The aim of the Synod is the religious and moral revival of the entire people, enhancing faith, and encouraging laymen to take active part in professional, social, and public life in accordance with the principles of Catholic social teachings.

The commission responsible for preparing the Synod, chaired by Cardinal Jozef Glemp, presented a draft agenda thereof. This Synod is intended to make believers better acquainted with the contents of the Bible; the documents of the Second Vatican Council; papal encyclicals, especially those from recent decades; the documents of the Bishops' Synod; the Pope's teachings addressed to the Poles during his three pilgrimages to the fatherland; and canon law. It was suggested that subject commissions be appointed in order to prepare draft documents before the start of the Plenary Synod, which is expected to take place in 1991. The Synod will be important not only for the life of the church in Poland, but also for the whole of society.

2. The economic, social, and political situation in our country is a subject of constant concern for the church fathers. As shepherds and sons of the Polish nation, the bishops share the hopes and fears of the whole of society, including a feeling of concern for the state, which is the common heritage of all Poles. Citizens with a sense of responsibility for the country's fortunes must be filled with fear by the latest unrest and strikes in some industrial centers. The bishops can understand the motives and determination of the workers who have undertaken protest action. They are also trying to identify the reasons that led to them. The painful experiences of the past years, plus concern for the fate of the nation, should induce a joint search for paths leading to a meeting and joint activity between the authorities and society. The

bishops recall that in accordance with the church's social teachings, society has the right to insist on its own identity. It should, however, be guided by Christian principles. The country's situation requires that formal considerations be set aside and a common search made for joint solutions of benefit to the entire nation. Dialogue between the state authorities and the representative social groups is the only way to overcome the country's crisis. According to current opinion, no government or political system is able to solve our country's urgent problems without broad participation by society. All Poles should combine their efforts in achieving the social harmony that is essential in order to restore normal development conditions to the nation and reestablish a healthy economy and a law-abiding state that enjoys the confidence of its citizens. The authorities must not lack the courage to undertake the essential reforms that are generally expected by society, whereas society must not lack the readiness to undertake hard, honest work, and even make sacrifices for the good of the entire nation.

3. The bishops acquainted themselves with the work of the mixed commission consisting of representatives of the Holy See, the Church Council of Public Affairs, and the Episcopal Conference. Founded last year, the task of this commission is to examine the problem of establishing diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the PPR, which the Holy Father discussed with members of the Polish Episcopal Conference in Warsaw on 14 June 1987. The bishops also acquainted themselves with the work of the joint commission of representatives of the government and episcopate, particularly with the work of this commission's subcommittee that is responsible for preparing a draft document on the subject of legal regulations between the church and the state as a prelude to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Apostolic See and the PPR.

4. Next, the bishops examined the protection of human life against the danger of artificial insemination in the light of the instructions entitled "Respect for a Developing Human Life and the Dignity of Conveying It," issued by the Congregation for Religious Teachings on 22 February 1987. It was decided to give wide publicity to this important Holy See document, especially among doctors, and to prepare spiritual guidelines containing a moral assessment of artificial insemination. For not everything that is technologically possible is morally admissible, just as abortions are not morally admissible.

5. The sea tragedy on board the tanker "Athenian Venture" in the middle of April, in which 29 Poles died, induces the bishops to express their profound condolences to the relatives of those who perished.

6. The Episcopal Conference received with joy the news that the holy father has extended the Year of St Mary in Poland until the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in other words, until 8 December 1988. This is an opportunity for all worshippers to take advantage of the rich spiritual fruits of the Year of St Mary.

Spiritually joined to the entire nation in conveying the mysteries of the life of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the month of May, the bishops bless the beloved fatherland from the Jasna Gora sanctuary.

Czestochowa-Jasna Gora, 3 May 1988.

Government-Episcopate Commission Meets

LD0405215988 Warsaw PAP in English
2034 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 4: The Government-Episcopate Commission met here today at its 42nd meeting since its re-establishment in 1980. The body assessed the current situation in Poland, its external and internal sources. The commission shared the view that the authorities must not run short of courage for necessary reforms, widespreadly awaited by society, and society must not run short of readiness for painstaking and honest work, and even necessary sacrifices for the good of the whole nation.

The commission heard a report by its drafting committee preparing draft acts regulating church-state relations. Members of the commission: head of the Government Office for Religious Affairs Wladyslaw Loranc and Archbishop Jerzy Stroba, the Poznan Metropolitan, reported on the conclusion of the domestic stage of works on a convention between the Polish People's Republic and the Apostolic See. The commission also heard a report on the state of work on the draft law on the state's attitude to the Roman Catholic church in Poland.

The commission adopted the draft.

The conclusion of works on the draft convention and the continuing works on the draft law will make it possible to start talks between the Polish government and Apostolic See.

PAP comments:

The communique of the Government-Episcopate Commission, published today, relates the course of works which arouse serious interest at home and abroad, and which have so far been, for understandable reasons, surrounded by secrecy.

The convention is scheduled to regulate relations between the church and the state, and in particular it will regulate aspects of organization and activity of the Catholic Church in Poland, activity which according to canon law is reserved for the Apostolic See to decide.

In 1974 the Polish government and the Apostolic See appointed teams for permanent working contacts. The

draft convention is to determine their being replaced by normal, full diplomatic relations.

Beginning from 1983, the Polish Government, on several occassions, publicly proposed, at Sejm meetings above all, that such relations should be established. Valuable thoughts on establishing those relations and on ways conducive to this end were contributed by Pope John Paul II in his address delivered to the Polish Episcopate on June 14, 1987.

The Polish nation is looking forward to the establishment of these relations and is convinced that there exist no essential reasons why it should be delayed. The drafting committee has already started work on a draft law which will comprehensively determine, along with the convention, the principles of the state's attitude to the Catholic Church.

Vatican: Failure of Mission Noted

LD0605150288 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1415 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Jasna Gora—The Secretariat of the Polish Episcopate has issued a communique which contains the following:

In its communique from the meeting at Jasna Gora on 3 May this year the conference of the Polish Episcopate expressed its concern about the situation in our country, appealing at the same time for social conflicts to be resolved by dialogue with the real representatives of social groups.

Special plenipotentiaries have been sent with the consent of the authorities on a goodwill mission to the most inflamed points: the Lenin Steelworks in Krakow-Nowa Huta and the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. Unfortunately, when the talks in Nowa Huta were still in progress the strike was suppressed with the use of violence, and as regards the Gdansk shipyard a decision was made to close it down [podjeto decyzje o jej likwidacji].

We express our deep sorrow that the attempt at dialogue and social reconciliations has not produced the expected results. This benefits neither society nor the country, which needs the strength of all Poles to extricate the country from the crisis.

[dated] Warsaw, 5 May 1988

Further Reportage on Visit of USSR's Gromyko

Welcomed by Ceausescu

AU1005121388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1132 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/5/1988—Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, arrived in Bucharest on May 10 for a friendly official visit to Romania upon the invitation of RCP general secretary, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The official arrival ceremony took place at the festively adorned Otopeni Airport.

The official aircraft landed at 11:00 hours.

When getting off the plane, A.A. Gromyko and Lidiya Dmitriyevna Gromyko were cordially welcomed by Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu.

The two leaders shook hands with particular warmth and embraced each other.

Next, the commander of the military guard lined-up at the airport gave the report.

The national anthems of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of the Socialist Republic of Romania were played, while a 21-gun salute was fired.

Nicolae Ceausescu and A.A. Gromyko reviewed the guard of honour.

The Romanian officials come to the airport. Full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party Central Committee, members of the CC of the RCP, of the State Council and government, managerial staff of central institutions, leaders of mass and public organizations, generals and others were then introduced.

Romania's ambassador to Moscow and the ambassador of the Soviet Union to Bucharest attended.

A group of Romanian and Soviet Pioneers offered bunches of flowers to Nicolae Ceausescu and Andrey Gromyko, Elena Ceausescu and Lidiya Gromyko.

At the end of the ceremony, Nicolae Ceausescu and A.A. Gromyko watched the march-past of the guard of honour.

Numerous working people from Bucharest enterprises and institutions applauded enthusiastically and cheered at length for the Romanian-Soviet friendship. Wishes for the consolidation of collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples were written in Romanian and Russian on purple streamers.

In such an enthusiastic atmosphere, the two leaders took their seats in a car escorted by motorcycles, makicg for the official residence reserved for the distinguished guests.

At the residence, Nicolae Ceausescu and Andrey Gromyko, Elena Ceausescu and Lidiya Gromyko conversed in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Places Wreaths at Memorial

AU1005121488 Bucaharest AGERPRES in English 1148 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/5/1988—Shortly after his arrival in Bucharest, A.A. Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, laid floral wreaths at the Memorial of the Heroes of the Struggle for the Liberty of the People and the Homeland, for Socialism, at the Memorial of the Soviet Heroes and the V.I. Lenin Memorial in the capital city.

Attending the ceremonies were the Soviet officials accompanying the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on his visit to Romania as well as Romanian officials.

Lidiya Gromyko Visits Museum

AU1005175888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1727 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/5/1988—Tuesday, Lidiya Gromyko visited the Fine Arts Museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania displaying old Romanian works of art, works of representative Romanian plastic artists.

Begins Talks With Ceausescu

AU1005175988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1738 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/5/1988—The official talks between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, and Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, started at the State Council Palace in Bucharest on Tuesday, May 10.

In that framework, President Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed the best wishes on behalf of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and of the entire party and state leadership, as well as of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and conveyed Mikhail Gorbachev and the other comrades in the party and state leadership a salute and the best wishes on behalf of the Romanian party and state leadership, as well as on his own behalf.

Nicolae Ceausescu welcomed A.A. Gromyko's visit to Romania, which goes down as an important moment in the strengthening of the Romanian-Soviet links of friendship and collaboration.

A.A. Gromyko warmly thanked for the invitation to visit Romania, for the reception extended to him and expressed his belief that the meeting and the opinions to be exchanged with President Nicolae Ceausescu would contribute to the development of manysided cooperation between the Soviet Union and Romania.

During the talks, opinions were exchanged on the course of socialist construction in the two countries, on the development stage and prospects of Romanian-Soviet ties.

The talks pass in a comradely atmosphere of warm friendship.

Ceausescu Awarded Order of Lenin

AU1005201988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1857 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/5/1988—On Tuesday, May 10, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, was awarded the Order of Lenin, the highest state distinction of the USSR, conferred under a decree issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The order was handed over by Andrey Gromyko.

The ceremony was attended by Mme Elena Ceausescu.

Also present were full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party Central Committee, members of the State Council and of the government, other officials.

In the attendance were also the officials accompanying the distinguished Soviet guest on his visit to Romania.

Present were Romania's ambassador in Moscow and the Soviet Union's ambassador in Bucharest.

During the ceremony, held at the State Council Palace, Nicolae Ceausescu and Andrei Gromyko made addresses.

The RCP and Romanian state leader and the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, shook hands and friendly embraced each other.

Chairman Andrey Gromyko and the other officials attending the ceremony warmly congratulated President Nicolae Ceausescu on having been awarded the high distinction.

Ceausescu Offers Thanks for Award

AU1005202088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1947 GMT 10 May 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Address"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/5/1988—Thanking most warmly the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet for having been awarded the high order named after Lenin, the leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution and founder of the first socialist state of workers and peasants, President Nicolae Ceausescu said in his address at the ceremony held in Bucharest on 10 May:

I consider this order as an appreciation of the activity I have been carrying on in the ranks of the Romanian Communist Party, in the revolutionary movement in our country for social and national liberation, for the building of socialism in Romania, and first of all an appreciation of our Communist Party's policy of socialist construction, of its contribution to the development of the cooperation and friendship between our countries, parties and peoples, to the cause of socialist and peace worldwide.

The relations of friendship and cooperation, of solidarity in the common fight against exploitation and oppression, for freedom and a better life have long-standing traditions. The participation of Romanian revolutionaries in the fight for safeguarding the Soviet revolution, the young Soviet state was an expression of that solidarity.

During the last part of the Second World War, the Romanian Army and the Army of the Soviet Union fought shoulder to shoulder against fascism, until the final victory. That took the fraternal cooperation between our peoples onto a higher level. In the years of socialist construction these ties have acquired new dimensions, being solidly founded on full equality, mutual regard and respect, on the noble principles of socialism.

I stress in this framework too the remarkable contribution to the growth of Romanian-Soviet links of summit meetings—of the talks and understandings agreed upon with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev last year, which opened new development prospects to the friendship and cooperation between our parties and peoples. I am convinced that your present visit to Romania will go down as another major moment in the chronicle of the Romanian-Soviet friendship and cooperation, as concerns both bilateral ties and the more active cooperation on an international plane—together with the other

socialist countries—for the settlement of the great problems confronting our time, for disarmament, peace, for the building of a better and more just world.

The CC of the RCP, the State Council and the Government, I myself will further do our utmost for the continuous growth of the Romanian-Soviet cooperation and friendship, of the solidarity between our communist parties, in the interest of both peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace worldwide, Nicolae Ceausescu said in conclusion.

Ceausescu, Gromyko Attend Concert

AU1005202288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1956 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/5/1988—On Tuesday evening, Nicolae Ceausescu and Andrey Gromyko, Elena Ceausescu and Lidiya Gromyko attended an extraordinary vocal-symphonic concert at the Romanian Athaeneum.

In the attendance were full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party Central Committee, members of the CC of the RCP, of the State Council and of the government, executives of central institutions, of mass and public organizations, other officials.

Also present were the Soviet officials accompanying the distinguished guests.

The programme included pieces by Romanian and Soviet composers.

Nominees for Federal Secretaries Announced

LD1005172288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, 10 May (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic today acquainted the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium with proposals for appointments of new federal secretaries, who should take up their posts on 16 May.

Mikulic, speaking at a session that started at 1700, proposed Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic as new federal secretary for national defense; Nenad Krekic as new federal secretary for economic relations with foreign countries; and Dr Petar Vajovic as new federal secretary for Justice and Organization of the federal administration. Milan Seslija was proposed as new president of the Federal Committee for Questions of Veterans and Disabled Veterans. [passage indistinct]

More on Defense Secretary Nominee

LD1005203988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1837 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, May 10 (TANJUG)—General Veljko Kajijevic (63) was today nominated for the post of Yugoslav defence secretary, to replace Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, who is to retire from active military service.

Kadijevic, a veteran of the Yugoslav revolution and the 1941-1945 liberation war, has held a number of important posts in the Yugoslav Armed Forces, and is currently deputy defence secretary.

The proposal came today from Yugoslav Prime Minister Branko Mikulic as part of a partial reconstruction of his government. Federal Assembly is to vote on the proposed on May 15.

The Presidency of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance, the country's largest political organization, today expressed support for this and other proposals.

Foreign Trade Secretary Nenad Krekic was nominated for the post of head of the newly-formed Secretariat for Foreign Economic Relations, and Dr Petar Vajovic for the post of head of the Federal Secretariat for Legislation, Justice and Administration. These two new ministries will take over the functions of several secretariats which are being abolished.

Mikulic said today that he had considered even greater changes in the government, but had abandoned them because the Republic of Slovenia and Croatia had called for a vote of no-confidence in the government in the Federal Assembly.

Croatians, Slovenes Urge No-Confidence Vote

LD1005202788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1803 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, May 10 (TANJUG)—The Federal Assembly committees today discussed the Federal Government's mid-term, two-year performance report, and their assessments range from demands for a vote of no-confidence to opinions that the Assembly, party and other state bodies, which approved the government's policies, are responsible for the country's difficult economic situation.

Delegates from Slovenia said that the government does not have the support of the Assembly and the economy of their republic and called for a vote of no-confidence in the government. Slovenian delegates were joined by delegates from Croatia because the Croatian Republican Assembly today also decided to raise the question of confidence in Prime Minister Branko Mikulic's government.

Delegates of other republics did not raise the question of confidence in the Federal Government, although they said that the government should have led the country more consistently and decisively towards a market-oriented economy.

During today's debate, the delegates said that the government gave in to all kinds of pressure and that a great many measures were not taken on time. The delegates said that some regions have not been disciplined in implementing the government's policies, and the government could not be blamed for that.

Representatives of the Federal Government rejected the criticisms by the Slovenian and Croatian delegates, saying that there were conflicting views within the government on Yugoslavia's development policy. They said that this government would remain devoted to a market-oriented economy, but that administrative measures should be viewed only as necessity at specific moments.

The debate on the government's work continues.

Daily Bets FEC Won't Be Forced To Resign

AU1105072588 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 29 Apr 88 p 1

[Branko Podobnik commentary: "The Time To Part"]

[Text] Despite the "destructive" criticism of the FEC's work over 2 years, we would dare to bet that the federal government won't be forced to resign. In a way, it would be unjust. The FEC adopted the most fatal decisions with the consent of the delegates in the SFRY Assembly and at least with the knowledge—if not the consent—of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Why should only the FEC be called to account for the consequences of poor decisions?

The FEC has also offered a program for the economy in the future. The plan is quite promising, for it indicates that economic policy will be directed toward a market economy and will draw closer to it. At this moment it is less important whether the proposed program is a result of our own perceptions and strivings or of the dictate of foreign lenders. The important thing is to adopt this program, and above all to implement it.

The present, a changed, or a completely new government should be aware that the vote of confidence in the government will be decided by the success in the implementation of the program and the firmness of the steps leading out of the crisis, and not by this Presidium or that Presidency. The conclusion is clear: the FEC must shed the patronage of the Presidiums and its too close links with them. The party Presidium should assess the work of the Communists in the FEC according to whether they act in harmony with the party guidelines, but it should not get involved in agitating for the adoption of any specific decisions. The party and the state obtained a divorce in the fifties, and it is time that they really part.

The FEC must work in harmony with the constitutional position that determines that it is the executive organ of the Federal Assembly and that it must be responsible primarily to this assembly; and this means responsibility to all of Yugoslavia. Progress or regression of the entire state, and not the political relationship of forces at any moment, should be the chief yardstick for assessing the work of the federal government.

Mikulic Addresses Economic Reform Commission

LD1005213288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 10 May 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 10 May (TANJUG)—The position that market laws are a factor that should be taken into account, both by the economy and society, was endorsed as the key thought of the fundamental changes to the economic system. This is the main point of the second day of work of the FEC Economic System Reform Commission. At this meeting, the themes of the market and prices dominated.

The essence of a long debate on the market and price relations was summed up in a short address by Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC and president of the Economic System Reform Commission. He said there is no dilemma about the principle that prices in the market should be formed in accordance with supply and demand. He said that there is also the question of why, in production, where prices had been formed freely for a long time, reserves are growing, and therefore the pressure on price increases is increasingly prominent.

The liberation of prices on the domestic market, Mikulic stressed, should be accompanied by the appropriate liberalization of imports and appropriate economic policy. We cannot have free formation of prices and at the same time retain a closed domestic market, which should be open to foreign competition.

Allowing foreign competition would also exclude the practice used so far whereby domestic producers ban the imports of those goods that they themselves produce. In order to realize greater space for the influence of imported goods in our market, it is necessary that customs and import duties should be excluded from taxation.

Endorsing the views of many participants in the debate, Mikulic said that in agriculture we should choose the principle of free price formation. For agricultural and food products, whose prices would stay under control, it will be necessary to ensure compensation funds from realistic sources. This, however, is not simple, since such sources are not abundant.

The EEC president endorsed the stand that the role of protection prices should be defined clearly, and that the list of such products should be narrowed down. Saying that agriculture and the food industry cannot be a "general warehouse" for goods, Mikulic added that we should have an agreement on the manner of financing reserves as these products are gathered once a year and consumed over 12 months. [passage omitted]

The commission will prepare a report on the envisaged economic reforms for the forthcoming LCY Conference. As the basic directions of the changes to the economic system were not fully discussed yesterday or today, the remaining issues will be on the agenda for 17 May when the commission will resume the session.

Gives Statement to TV

LD1005204288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1729 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, 10 May (TANJUG)—I consider it quite normal to have different views on major issues concerning the reform of the economic system in the initial stages of the debate. These differences give no cause for concern and I think that we should continue the debate in the same tolerant, democratic, and wide-ranging manner, Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, stressed in a brief statement to the Belgrade Television main newscast in connection with a session of the FEC Commission for the reform of the economic system.

I am convinced, the FEC president continued, as is the commission for the reform, that we shall be able to settle these issues. We are faced here with major reforms, with changes in a situation that has been going on for a number of decades. But the changes do not only refer to the situation, but to work too. It will be no easy task to settle these issues because of the fact that, in addition to the dogmatism we inherited, we have also created and have become prisoners of our own dogmatism. We have to know how to conduct a well-argued debate to make progress in the way we think about many of the issues concerning the reforms we have been considering.

Asked if the present differences might stop the reforms from being carried out, Mikulic said that, as far as he can remember, we have never embarked on reforms as deep as those that are proposed, which are to be based on the long-term programm of economic stabilization and the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress. These are very radical moves, he added.

In Mikulic's view, the most important task at the moment is to pass the necessary measures as soon as possible in order to prepare the economy for the start on 1 January next year. This means that we shall have to settle all those issues this year. This year will be packed with intensive discussions and arguments about the categorization of issues and the most vital solutions to come into force on 1 January.

I want to say again that it will not be easy to fulfill these goals. We shall encounter problems and, in view of that, we have decided to add one more part to our overall program. This includes a social welfare policy, which will give social welfare the resilience to enable us to carry out such an ambitious and tough program to which, I am convinced, there is no alternative, the FEC president stressed in his statement to Belgrade Television.

'Suspense' Noted Before Unfreezing of Prices

AU1105084988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 May 88 p 3

[M.D. article "Some Are Buying, Some Holding Sessions"]

[Text] At this moment nobody knows what exactly will happen with prices after 15 May: In this overheated atmosphere of suspense the state organs preparing to unfreeze them do not know, the producers do not know either, nor do the consumers. These last have no option but to wait bravely for the announced day or to set about emptying the shops. The latter is happening in many towns in our country, and there is a particularly high demand for more expensive goods—building material, furniture, television sets, household appliances, carpets.... Afraid that 15 May will bring astronomical inflation, the people set about buying everything they need or will need, knowing that new prices will probably be out of reach of a Yugoslav buyer for a long time.

Compared to the atmosphere in the shops, the situation in the FEC is different. Decisions that will replace the November ones are being prepared in peace. One is holding sessions, making accounts, negotiating, traveling.... There is simply no confusion, and consequently, no nervousness. It is probably for that reason that it is impossible at the moment to get any official or at all reliable information on what will be put down in the government's May decisions, although everybody would like to know. The only information that could be obtained at the FEC today originates from the Federal Market Inspectorate. They have just finished the report on the result of their checks during 15 days in April. This is probably the only service in the country in these nervous days before the prices are unfrozen that deals with what is past and gone.

The extraordinary psychosis on the market has lasted 1 or 2 months. Even in April, inspectors noticed that prices were being raised without authorization more frequently and that goods were being hidden from consumers more often than before. Producers started to blackmail retailers by asking them to pay for goods in advance, or to forgo the markup in their favor in order to make up for the losses in the production of some goods. These are only some new variants of the pressure for higher prices that work in synchronization with the ones previously known—simply raising prices despite the regulations, or by means of various surcharges under the guise of self-managing agreements. Hence the inspectors' assessment that through (undisciplined) behavior some organizations have devalued the efforts to implement intervention measures and have thereby marred the unity of the Yugoslav market. This assessment is supported by the results of over 2,000 checks carried out throughout the country. Inspectors discovered that the laws on prices had been violated in almost every fifth case. They were therefore forced to take action and file charges in hundreds of cases. The extent to which price regulations were violated can be seen in the fact that inspectors have discovered unlawful material gain to the value of 500 million dinars. And all that in only 15 days in April!

What will happen after 15 May?

Belgrade Party Questions Leadership's Unity

LD1005215388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2030 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, May 10 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Belgrade party organisation today called for a debate on the Yugoslav party leadership's disunity on how to deal with crisis.

If the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) is unable to ensure the necessary ideological and action unity, an extraordinary party congress should be convened and a thorough personnel reconstruction carried out, the Belgrade city committee said today.

The committee said that the question of disunity should have been discussed long ago and criticised the country's party Presidency for its "passive and neutral" attitude towards this issue.

The city committee urged a "radical" constitutional reform and changes in the political and economic system of the country.

The upcoming LCY conference, due here from May 29 to 31, must specify the tasks and obligations of all Communists, and not merely stop at a description of the state of affairs, the committee said.

A number of the committee members were of the opinion that a personnel reconstruction of the Central Committee and its Presidency should be carried out at the conference.

The committee also criticised the present system of election to the top federal organs. It said that the system of rotation at the top to ensure an even regional and national representation is at the expense of quality and paves the way for "bureaucratism, opportunism and routinism."

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Opposes 'Privileges'
LD1005175388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1420 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Sarajevo, May 10 (TANJUG)—As provided by a draft on cadre policy to be considered shortly by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, officials in this Yugoslav republic will from now on be subject to property c ntrol on taking up (?a paying) office.

The draft is aimed at cutting short the widespread practice of acquiring personal benefits irrespective of the results of work and preventing the use of post for obtaining material gains.

At the time of growing crisis and drastically widening social differences, unjustified enrichment of officials in Yugoslavia, and especially in its underdeveloped regions such as Bosnia-Hercegovina, is an eyesore to people. Cadre policy has therefore become an urgent problem on which the party membership insists. The prevalent feeling is that the leaderships should "purge themselves" of compromised officials and should make it possible to discuss the cadre policy by the force of arguments and not from the positions of power.

Those to whom their posts opened the door to privileges and to mistakes in cadre policy with enormous losses to the economy and decline of party prestige, were most strongly criticized at the first conference of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina last month. This is understandable because the republic was shaken lately by a number of economic and political scandals, such as the affair with about 900 million dollars' worth of uncovered promissory notes issued by the agro-industrial firm Agrokomerc of Velika Kladusa, the building of a settlement for officials at Neum, central Adriatic coast, and electoral manipulations in the Bosnian town of Mosevac. Moreover, the economy of Bosnia-Hercegovina last year had a loss of 821 billion dinars, while the worker's wage averaged 150,000 dinars (one U.S. dollar equals 1,512 dinars) at 170 per cent annual inflation.

The recent elections for a number of leading posts in Bosnia-Hercegovina have shown that some longstanding officials, considered to be the most responsible for the situation in the republic and the country as a whole, no longer enjoy the confidence of the people. Thus it happened - for the first time in postwar Yugoslavia - that a government was not elected in due time because the nomination of some of the candidates was contested, election lists were changed and supplemented, and the elections repeated.

That was why the party decided to stop the "eternal politicians"' practice of sticking to their office until retirement, in spite of poor performance. The new party draft, which will be accompanied with changes in corresponding legal regulations, guarantees democratic public elections with several candidates and secret voting, in addition to special criteria for the election of top officials.